

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DIRECTOR, FBI (67-32)

DATE: 11/14/56

LML

100-391697

FROM :

SAC, WFO (100-22169)

ATTN: RECORDS SECTION

SUBJECT:

FEUA

53492

The NCUA has just issued their publication entitled "Investigation of so-called 'Blacklisting' in Entertainment Industry - Report of the Fund for the Republic, Inc. - Part 1 and Part 2."

Fund for the Republic

Three sets of this publication are enclosed for the Bureau and two sets for the New York Office. One set is enclosed for the Los Angeles Office. *EC added*

- ② - Bureau (Encls.-6) 96
1 - New York (Encls.-4) (RM)
1 - Los Angeles (Encls.-2) (RM)
1 - WFO

JAG: 103

(5)

INDEXED - 53

RECORDED - 92/00-391697-43

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b7C

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~

~~60 DEC 19 195~~

DEC 24 1956

#200,053 34360/644

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: November 23, 1956

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

106642

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

ELMO ROPER;
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-81 BY 106820 JAF

Tolson ☒
Nichols ☒
Boardman ☒
Belmont ☒
Mohr ☒
Parsons ☒
Rosen ☒
Tamm ☒
Nease ☒
Winterrowd ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holloman ☒
Gandy ☒

Pursuant to the Director's request on November 21, 1956, Bufiles have been reviewed concerning [REDACTED] and Elmo Roper. According to an announcement of the FFR on November 20, 1956, Patterson was elected member of the Fund's Board of Directors. Roper was elected chairman of the Board, replacing Paul G. Hoffman who will continue as a Director.

[REDACTED] is editor-publisher of [REDACTED] New York, daily newspaper. Bufiles reflect no investigation [REDACTED] The files do reflect cordial correspondence has been had with [REDACTED] and that a friendly relationship has existed with [REDACTED] as far back as 1943. (62-74575-37, 40 and 44)

b6
b7C

Roper, who, since 1933, has been the head of Elmo Roper Associates (marketing consultants), New York City, was the subject of applicant-type investigations conducted by Bureau 1941, 1942 and 1951, which developed nothing derogatory. (123-9711; 62-62198) Bufiles show that on 3/16/52, over National Broadcasting Company network, Roper named the Director as third on a list of twelve "most admired" Americans. (62-62198-40) The "New York Herald Tribune" for 12/15/52 carried a Roper story entitled, "Public Endorses the FBI's Handling of Communists." The story stated that a public poll revealed that the Bureau had done the best job of handling the problem of communists in America. (62-62198-41) Irving Ferman, Washington representative of American Civil Liberties Union, advised Mr. Nichols 10/8/55 that he had talked to Roper (member, Board of Directors of FFR) and Roper agreed that the Fund was engaged in political activities rather than in pioneering activities not done by other people. On 1/1/56, Ferman advised Bureau that Roper, whom he has known for many years, has no concept of his responsibilities as Board member of the Fund. Roper feels that all of their problems are public relations problems and that their projects are satisfactory. He agrees, however, that the Fund has been inept in selecting some of its materials. The big problem is to get rid of Robert Hutchins, the Fund's President. On 1/6/56, Ferman advised that Roper had met with Representative Walter of the HCUA to discuss the committee's proposed hearing on the Fund. Ferman said that he has never seen anyone so "muddleheaded" as Roper. Roper confided that the Fund's Board of Directors was in complete chaos. (100-391697-226, 320, 338)

cy:bjt:tje
(7)

- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Boardman
- Mr. Belmont

- 1 - Section
- 1 - Mr. Young
- 1 - Mr. Onsgard

16 NOV 29 1956

RECORDED-37 EX-121
INDEXED

Memorandum from Mr. Belmont to Mr. Boardman

b6
b7C

RE: ;

ELMO ROPER;
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

The Fund, on 8/26/56, charged Representative Walter with employing "hit-and-run tactics" in a "deliberate scheme to discredit the Fund." The statement was signed by Roper and other members of the Fund's Board of Directors. ("Washington Post and Times Herald" 8/30/56, 100-391697-A)

(100-391697)

Referral/Consult

ACTION:

None. For your information.

Jan *Mar* *V*

Roper Heads Republic Fund Board

NEW YORK, Nov. 20 (AP) — Elmo Roper, public opinion analyst, has been elected board chairman of the Fund for the Republic, the Fund announced today. He succeeds Paul G. Hoffman, who will continue as a director.

Robert M. Hutchins was re-elected president of the fund.

The Fund announced election of three board members. They are Alicia Patterson of New York, editor and publisher of Newsday, Long Island newspaper; Bruce Catton of Bethesda, Md., Pulitzer-prize winning historian, and Harry S. Ashmore of Little Rock, Ark., executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette.

The Fund announced the retirement of three board members whose terms have expired: Chester Bowles, former Ambassador to India; John Lord O'Brien, an attorney, and James D. Zellerbach, president of Crown Zellerbach Corp.

The Fund for the Republic was set up in 1953 with a \$15-million endowment from the Ford Foundation, but operates independently.

Hutchins has defined the Fund's objective as "to study and disclose the facts about all threats to civil liberties, including communism."

Roper issued a statement saying "The world-shattering events of the last few weeks have demonstrated again that Soviet Russia is the basic threat to freedom in the world today."

"The Fund for the Republic," he said, "is trying to strengthen the climate in which freedom is possible."

"Where individual freedom is threatened, we are working to create the kind of understanding between people that will enable freedom to grow."

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Mason _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
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Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

*Miss Hutchins
Re: Bruce Catton
11-22-58*

*Miss Robert M. Hutchins
Re: Hutchins - Information
11-22-58*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-2-89 BY 888

Wash. Post and Times Herald *15*
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
N. Y. Daily News _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

Date _____

b6
b7C

November 8, 1956

100-391097 ✓

Mr. Irving Ferman
American Civil Liberties Union
412 Fifth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Irving:

Thanks a lot for your note of the fifth with
the enclosure. It was very interesting.

Sincerely,


L.B. Nichols

LBN:rm
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-28-89 BY 60385/108

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Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
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Gandy _____

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NOV 30 1956

NOV 8 1956

FBI
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 5, 1956

Mr. L. B. Nichols
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Lou:

There are two items of information,
which I would like to share with you:

1. I am attaching herewith a
copy of the Executive Committee minutes of the
Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union, and call
your attention to Item 4 which reflects what
appears to be a real movement to involve the
Union in attacking the Smith Act over and above
the filing of Amicus briefs.

2. I have reasons to believe
that the Fund For the Republic helped finance
the Cam dinner. I was told at the beginning
that they would, and then when I asked questions
concerning the Fund donating money to the dinner,
I was given very noncommittal answers.

Very truly yours

Irving Ferman
IRVING FERMAN

IF:p
Enc.

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

2 Photos to 500
1 Boston
which 11-16-56
JH/R

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-8-81 BY 20885108

14 NOV 26 1956

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DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

11/21/56

SAC, WFO (100-22169)

ATTN: RECORDS SECTION

HCUA

The HCUA has just released a pamphlet entitled "Investigation of the Award by the Fund for the Republic, Inc. (Plymouth Meeting, Pa.)."

Three copies of this publication are enclosed for the Bureau, two copies for Philadelphia and one copy for New York.

The Bureau may desire to furnish instructions to the Philadelphia Office as to the dissemination of this material.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls.-3)
- 1 - Philadelphia (Encls.-2) (RM)
- 1 - New York (Encl.-1) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

JAC:jcr
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-8-89 BY 2885 DAB

RECORDED-37

100-391697-438
NOV 21 1956

INDEXED 38

12-6-56
45

NOTICE

SCAN FRONT

DOCUMENT(S) CANNOT BE SCANNED

DESCRIPTION

BOOKLETS

INVESTIGATION OF THE AWARD BY
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
(PLYMOUTH MEETING, PA.)

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

JULY 18, 1956

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

(INCLUDING INDEX)



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1956

83005

100-391671-438

5536

AWARD BY THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

mindedness and conformity must be resisted by those who remain faithful to our American ideal of civil liberty, a religious inheritance which found its first great expression in Penn's Holy Experiment. For the Society of Friends this ideal is based on our conviction that in every man there is a divine Source of Truth.

Fourth month 20, 1956.



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

END PARTIALLY SCANNED
DOCUMENT

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: December 3, 1956

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Boardman ☐
 Belmont ☐
 Mason ☐
 Mohr ☐
 Parsons ☐
 Rosen ☐
 Tamm ☐
 Nease ☐
 Winterrowd ☐
 Tele. Room ☐
 Holloman ☐
 Gandy ☐

By memorandum dated October 9, 1956, entitled "First Annual Report, Industrial Personnel Security Review Program, Office of the Secretary of Defense," you were advised that the Office of the Director, Office of Personnel Security Review, Department of Defense, as of that date was releasing a report on Defense's personnel security review program. It was further pointed out that the report set out case studies of 30 actual cases. Each case gave a resume of information concerning the individual involved and the statements of reasons presented to him.

On November 30, 1956, [redacted] Office of Industrial Personnel Security Review, Department of Defense, advised SA D. J. Sullivan, Liaison Section, that the Fund for the Republic had advised Jerome D. Fenton, Director of the Office of Personnel Security Review, that it was ordering 10,000 copies of the First Annual Report, Industrial Personnel Security Review Program, from the Government Printing Office for distribution within the U.S.

[redacted] stated that the Fund for the Republic did not advise to whom copies were to be sent and he had no further information concerning this proposed distribution.

ACTION:

None. For information.

DJS:jlklk
 (6)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Young
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8-3-89 BY 50851/100

RECORDED - 81

21 DEC 5 1956

DIRECTOR, FBI (61-7582)

11/21/56

SAC, WFO (100-22169)

ATTN: RECORDS SECT

HCUA

ReWFOlet, 11/14/56, enclosing Part 1 and Part 2 of HCUA publication entitled "Investigation of So-Called 'Black-listing' in Entertainment Industry - Report of the Fund for the Republic, Inc."

Part 3 of this pamphlet has now been released and three copies are enclosed for the Bureau, two copies for the New York Office and one copy for Los Angeles.

The Bureau may desire to issue instructions to the appropriate office as to the dissemination of this material.

- 2 - Bureau (Encls.-3)
- 1 - New York (Encls.-2) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Encl.-1) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

JAC:jcr
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 8-2-89 BY SP8 RST/98

100-391647-440
DEC 7 1956
NOT RECORDED

100-391647-440

DEC 11 1956

NOTICE

SCAN FRONT

DOCUMENT(S) CANNOT BE SCANNED

DESCRIPTION

BOOKLETS

INVESTIGATION OF SO-CALLED "BLACKLISTING"
IN ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY—REPORT OF THE
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.—PART 3

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

JULY 17 AND 18, 1956

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

(INCLUDING INDEX)



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1956.

32833

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY 60335/108



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

END PARTIALLY SCANNED
DOCUMENT

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 11-28-56

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: THE FBI STORY

Tolson ✓
 Nichols ✓
 Boardman
 Belmont
 Mohr
 Parsons
 Rosen
 Tamm
 Trotter
 Nease
 Tele. Room
 Holloman
 Gandy

Irving Ferman is reviewing the book for "The New Republic." He knows the editor and thinks they are now committed although they will probably not like his review. He stated that in his opinion the book is excellent and he was impressed with the manner in which charges were anticipated and the skillfulness with which stories were worked in to meet some of the false charges which have been made against the Bureau. He stated that in his opinion this is one of the best jobs that has ever been done in a book of this type. I thanked him.

He also made the interesting observation that he is taking up with Elmo Roper of the Fund For the Republic the excellence of the book and the desirability of the Fund For the Republic purchasing several thousand copies of the book to give it widespread dissemination. He has the feeling that this will be favorably received although he also has his fingers crossed.

LBN:nl
 (2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8-8-89 BY 88257 JAS

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 183 DEC 3 1956

11 NOV 30 1956

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52 DEC 3 1956

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

SENT TO DIRECTOR'S
OFFICE BY NICHOLS.

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Boardman ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Mohr ☐
Mr. Parsons ☐
Mr. Rosen ☐
Mr. Tamm ☐
Mr. Trotter ☐
Mr. Jones ☐
Mr. Nease ☐
Mr. Winterrowd ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Mr. Holloman ☐
Miss Holmes ☐
Miss Gandy ☐

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RECORDED - 54

Sullivan

100-391697-441

2 ENCLOSURE
54

123

DEC 12 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-3-89 BY 2081577/afp

November
29
1956

Dear Elmo:

I have just completed Don Whitehead's "The FBI Story" which was released by Random House yesterday.

I am enclosing a review of this book which will be run by The New Republic.

I think it is an excellent book for the Fund to consider for distribution. I highly recommend it for this purpose.

With best wishes,

Very truly yours

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N. Y.

IRVING FARMAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-8-89 BY SP807Jlp

ENCLOSURE

"THE FBI STORY", by Don Whitehead.

Reviewed by Irving Ferman

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-8-81 BY 88857J/b

A National Police could infect the organism of a government of law, despite the anti-bodies in our Bill of Rights and in our system of checks and balances. Our most effective anti-body always is the focusing of an informed public opinion. This is why we should be grateful for Don Whitehead's excellent work on "The FBI Story."

Mr. Whitehead writes the FBI's almost half century history in highly readable and swift-moving journalese form. But this is not its chief virtue. It is in the sensitive historiographic sense he displays.

Whitehead skillfully has selected for telling those sources in the FBI's history which could have caused the greatest infection to our system.

The FBI has been criticized most sharply for its collecting intelligence data on non-criminal conduct of Communists and Fascists.

Whitehead shows that the FBI's sphere of activities in regard to Communists and other subversives were not self-imposed. He makes the disclosure, for the first time in print, that President Roosevelt called J. Edgar Hoover to his office on the summer morning of August 24th, 1936, to express concern over the activities of Communists and Fascists. It was the President, and not Mr. Hoover, who stressed the need for developing a broad intelligence picture of these activities. Even then Mr. Hoover emphasized that he had no specific authority to make such general investigations. However, the authority was found through the instrumentality of Cordell Hull and the State Department which, under law, could request them from the Justice Department.

The Director, in an instructional letter to his agents issued on September 5th, very carefully outline the scope of the Bureau's new

investigatory assignment.

"The Bureau desires to obtain from all possible sources information concerning subversive activities being conducted in the United States by Communists, Fascists and representatives or advocates of other organizations or groups advocating the overthrow or replacement of the Government of the United States by illegal methods. No investigation should be initiated into cases of this kind in the absence of specific authorization from the Bureau..."

It is difficult, in view of this disclosure, to argue that the FBI cannot accumulate intelligence data on the domestic Communist and Fascist movements, so long as unevaluated material on individuals remain undisclosed--and if there is a disclosure, that it follows the forms and prescriptions provided by law.

Whitehead, therefore makes it clear that the FBI has been delegated clear authority to perform its intelligence functions. But has it acted, as FBI critics maintain, in Gestapo-like fashion?

This reviewer would answer unequivocally in the negative, quoting a statement Judge Jerome Frank wrote in 1953:

"...in our revulsion against despicable, fear-stimulated conduct, we cannot lose sight of the frightening dangers that warrant some real apprehensions, and of the fact that the totalitarian regime which deems us the enemy does have active, secret agents in our midst..."

Today the fashion in pseudo-liberal circles dictates severe criticism of the FBI. But here is a force, held by a chief to the best police standards, abjuring the third degree and trained to respect civil liberties..."

The adoption of the Truman Loyalty Program in 1948, and the Eisenhower Security Program in 1953 has vastly extended the activity of the FBI.

The Bureau since has been under severe critical attack in the processing of personnel investigations particularly because of its insistence that its informants remain confidential, and not be subject to confrontation and cross-examination.

On this Whitehead reports what Hoover advised the Truman Loyalty Review Board early in the formulation of its operating policies.

Hoover is quoted as saying to the Board:

"...Our responsibility is limited to the securing of facts. I stated that the FBI was the investigator, not the prosecutor, judge or jury. I informed the Board that we planned to make our Special Agents available to testify to those matters of which they had personal knowledge and that we would list the names and addresses of those persons interviewed who did not object to their identities being known. I stated that whenever an FBI Agent interviews a person who says that he is giving information in strict confidence, his confidence must be respected..."

"I pointed out that as an alternative, we could explain our mission to each person and explain that he might be called as witness and be required to testify in public and then report only such information as was furnished without any restrictions as to source. I advised the Loyalty Review Board that this was a matter of policy for the Board to determine."

Whitehead's reporting of the Hoover view establishes a framework in which criticism of the present security proceedings might be more responsively directed, than it has been in the past.

This reviewer disagrees with the Justice Department's interpretation of the Communication Act holding tapping not to be illegal if the contents of the tap are not divulged to persons outside the government. In cases restricted to kidnapping and national security, the FBI has been wiretapping upon specific approval in each case by the Attorney-General. However, it is comforting to note Whitehead's report that in mid 1956, the Bureau had less than 90 wiretaps.

Our forefathers who insisted on amending the original Constitution to prohibit police against ~~coercing~~ confessions knew well how a sloppy, lazy, poorly-trained police could pollute our system. According to Whitehead, the FBI has never resorted to this type of "police" method, relying on its own resources of investigation, rather than on brutality, in cracking a case. The credit for this must go in large part to J. Edgar Hoover.

Whitehead properly devotes about one-eighth of his book to the internal operations of the FBI, as developed by Mr. Hoover. Personnel

selection, the functioning of its academy, its integrative use of chemistry, physics, metallurgy, electronics, and engineering in developing crime laboratory techniques are all dealt with. Whitehead also devotes space to a little known aspect of FBI work; its Civil Rights Training Schools in which 22,000 local police officials have been oriented and indoctrinated on this touchy and vastly important question.

Some of my mentors in the American Civil Liberties Union remember vividly the horrendous vigilantism of the World War I American Protective League whose 250,000 members were permitted to wear badges inscribed "American Protective League, Auxiliary to the U.S. Department of Justice."

These self-styled sleuths were used by the Justice Department to conduct "slacker" raids, one of which involved rounding up some 50,000 citizens in New York, which led Senator Hiram Johnson to comment on the Senate Floor, "to humiliate 40,000 citizens, to shove them along with bayonets, to subject them to prison and summary military force, merely because they are 'suspects' is a spectacle never before presented in the Republic."

When a proposal was made by the American Legion in 1940 to use their Posts as investigative units, which would have most certainly led to the vigilantism of World War I, it was intelligently rejected by the Justice Department.

By contrast in our World War II experience, the FBI's handling of the draft-evasion problem with particular reference to the conscientious objectors led the ACLU in 1943 to comment:

"The striking contrast between the state of civil liberty in the first eighteen months of World War II and in World War I offers strong evidence to support the thesis that our democracy can fight even the greatest of wars and still maintain the essentials of liberty."

Whitehead accurately sums it up:

"In the whole struggle, the FBI represents the people's effort to achieve government by law. It is an agency of justice. And the FBI in the future will be as strong or as weak as the people demand it to be. No more. No less."

DEC 8 1956

100-391697-442

INDEXED - 4

Mr. Ralph E. Ellsworth
 Director of Libraries
 State University of Iowa
 Iowa City, Iowa

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8-8-83 BY 8857JPG

Dear Mr. Ellsworth:

Your letter dated November 29, 1956,
 has been received and the interest and courtesy
 prompting your communication are indeed appreciated.

While I would like to be of assistance
 to you, the confidential nature of the files of this
 Bureau, together with our established role as a
 fact-finding agency which does not issue clearances
 or evaluations of individuals, organizations or
 publications, precludes me from rendering you advice,
 assistance or guidance; however, your letter will
 become a part of the official records of this Bureau.

Your offer will certainly be kept in mind
 and, in the meantime, if you obtain any specific data
 you believe to be pertinent to the responsibilities
 of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, please do not
 hesitate to contact the Special Agent in Charge of
 our Omaha Office located at 1010 Federal Office Building,
 Omaha 2, Nebraska.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
 Director

- 2 - Omaha (W/Brelos) - 2cc of (see note page 2)
 1 - New York (W/Brelos) - cc of (see note page 2)
 (Information)

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

DEC 11 1 38 PM '56

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ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 74-1116-1116

REC'D-READING ROOM
 FBI
 DEC 11 1956

COMM - FBI
 DEC 8 1956
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EX-125

Letter to Mr. Ralph E. Ellsworth
Director of Libraries
State University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

ATTENTION SACS, OMAHA AND NEW YORK:

Bufiles contain no identifiable information
re correspondent.

You are requested to discreetly determine
the expected completion date of the annotated bibliography
being compiled by correspondent. Thereafter, you should
arrange to obtain a copy of same without the Bureau's
interest being divulged. In connection therewith, if the
compilation of the bibliography is within the realm of
public knowledge, consideration may be given to utilizing
a logical SAC contact, panel source or source of information
to acquire the bibliography.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Correspondent started a collection in 1945
contributed to then and now by Senator Thomas Ellsworth
Martin (R), Iowa, which correspondent called "Native
Fascist Material." Until very recently, correspondent
made no effort to gather material re "American Communist
groups"; however, letters now being sent by correspondent
to "these organizations."

"Fund for the Republic" has given correspondent
small grant to enable publishing of annotated bibliography
of "these organizations" and his assistant now working on
bibliography.

Correspondent willing to open files for Bureau
use, thinks it would be nice if Bureau representative
visited him and "Perhaps you could help us also."

Central Research Section does not consider it
advisable to have field Agent review collection, but does
desire copy of annotated bibliography. In view of fund
grant by Fund for the Republic it is deemed advisable to
obtain bibliography in circumspect fashion.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

IOWA CITY, IOWA

THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

November 27, 1956

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Head
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Pennsylvania Avenue at 9th, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY SP3 BTJ/SP

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Fund for the Republic

Bayle Bunker

It occurs to me that I should inform you of a collection which I have been building since 1945, and which I think you might be interested in. Also, you will want to know our intent.

In 1945 I started a collection, which I then called "Native Fascist Material". I enlisted the help of the Honorable Thomas E. Martin, our Representative in Congress, and ever since that time Mr. Martin has been sending us the material of this type that comes to his office. He is continuing to do this now that he is our Senator, and the Honorable Fred Schwengel is also continuing to send the material that comes to his office.

We have renamed this collection in recent years, and we call it now our "Tensions File" because it contains material about a great many tension points in the American scene. It still continues to be strongest, however, for the Right Wing Extremist groups, and we are making a very special effort to get all of these organizations to send us their materials. We send out about a dozen requests each week, and we get a very fine response from these groups. We tell them, of course, that we are not taking sides on these materials, but that we are merely gathering materials for researchers of the future. Until very recently we have not made any effort to gather the material of the American Communist groups, primarily because we have relied on the University of Wisconsin to do that, and partly because we felt that we would not be able to get anything worthwhile from the Communists. My Assistant pointed out last week that it would not do any harm to ask the Communist party itself to send us materials, and so we have written them. Thus far I have had no response. Because of the fact that my name is on so many letters going to these organizations, it is entirely possible that word of my activities may have reached your office, and that is another reason why I am writing to you.

This year the Fund for the Republic has given me a small grant to enable me to publish an annotated bibliography of these organizations, and my Assistant is hard at work doing this work this year. I am acquainted with the other studies that have been made in this area, but I know that our collection is far more extensive than any other collection in the country, with the possible exception of what you have in your Bureau.

We are, of course, willing to open our files for your use if at any time you should want to know about our collection, or any of the organizations we collect. I think it would be nice if you would have one of your representatives stop in here some time and see what we are doing. Perhaps you could help us also.

Sincerely yours,

Paul E. Ellsworth

Paul E. Ellsworth

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UNITED

GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *ah*

DATE: December 11, 1956

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC AND AN
EDITORIAL IN THE DAILY WORKER, DECEMBER 11, 1956
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mason _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

An editorial in the Daily Worker, December 11, 1956, entitled "Road to Socialism," discusses the new draft constitution of the Communist Party, USA (which was made public by the Party's national committee on December 9), and the Fund for the Republic. This constitution is to be submitted to the 16th national convention to be held in February, 1957.

According to the editorial, the proposed constitution registers the intention of American communists to:

- (1) seek a " 'peaceful, democratic road to socialism through the political and economic struggles of the American people within the developing constitutional process. ' "
- (2) provide for and protect the right of dissent within the Party and the recall of Party officers.
- (3) continue to base itself on the teachings of the " 'giants of scientific socialism,' Marx, Engels and Lenin, as 'interpreted by the party and creatively applied and developed in accordance with the conditions of the American class struggle, traditions and customs. ' "

The editorial voices the hope that friends of socialism will welcome the Party's 'firm intent' to make major internal improvements and to direct itself on the 'American path to socialism.'

The editorial continues

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"As for the enemies of socialism, one can reasonably predict that they will divide between those who pronounce the Communists' constitutional proposals a conspirator's sham and those who warn that the changes are both real and a deadly menace to the country. "

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1 - Section tickler

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Nichols

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Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC AND AN
EDITORIAL IN THE DAILY WORKER, DECEMBER 11, 1956
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The editorial of the Daily Worker next turns to the Fund for the Republic.

"A case in point is the Fund for the Republic's study, coincidentally issued the same day as the party draft constitution, on the Communists' recent draft resolution. In addition to its absurd conclusion that the American Communists are making changes on Khrushchev's orders, the Fund's study complains that the 'new policies, with their assumption of legality, democracy and a more American outlook' will 'raise again many of the civil liberties issues which have proved so difficult in the recent past.'

"We do not wish to minimize the Fund for the Republic's difficulties. It has only recently been red-baited by Senator Eastland and others despite the awesome respectability of the Ford Billions which sustain it, because of its support for civil liberties.

"But we submit that resurgent Communist Party activity is the cause not for complaint but for happy recognition that the evil tides of McCarthyism have subsided sufficiently to make that possible. At the same time, professed friends of civil liberties, including the Fund for the Republic cannot seriously expect to deplore the denial of these liberties while they are being denied and then issue grave warnings that Communists are planning to use the freedom to speak and to think."
(Daily Worker, December 11, 1956, p. 5, col. 1)

It will be interesting to follow the Fund for the Republic to see if it "falls for" and accepts this fraudulent new "socialistic" line of the Party. Obviously the Party is in a better propagandistic position than ever before to make appealing overtures to the Fund in the name of "peace," "civil liberties," "constitutional socialism," "et cetera."

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be furnished the Director for his information.

D. 11/30 ✓

Mr. Nichols

December 17, 1956

M. A. Jones

[REDACTED]
BRIARCLIFF MANOR, NEW YORK
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-3-89 BY SP3BJL/af

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By memoranda dated August 3, 1956, and November 16, 1956,
I furnished you information with respect to the School Board of Briarcliff Manor,
New York, which information had been furnished me by [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] who has exhibited a most friendly attitude toward the Bureau. In
brief, the situation on the Briarcliff School Board is as follows.

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Wilbur "Ping" Ferry, Vice President of the Fund for the Republic, is
on the School Board. The Briarcliff School Board has gone on record as being opposed
to school board members having to take any kind of loyalty oath. Plans for an
"Essential Ideas Seminar" for "gifted" high school seniors in Briarcliff have been made.
This Seminar consists of studying films produced by Mortimer Adler, and Ferry
reportedly has been behind the efforts to bring this Seminar to Briarcliff.

With approval, public source information was confidentially made
available to [REDACTED] This data related to Adler (including his reported views favoring
World Government even at the expense of abolishing the United States), Wilbur Ferry,
the Fund for the Republic and the "Freedom Agenda" program (which involves the
discussing of pamphlets concerning American freedoms and is supported by money
from the Fund for the Republic).

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b7C

As has previously been reported, [REDACTED] working with the local post
of the American Legion, succeeded in having material concerning Adler and the
"Essential Ideas Seminar" presented to the Briarcliff School Board. This started a
public controversy and has received newspaper publicity. The School Board has
remained firm in its decision to go ahead with the "Essential Ideas Seminar."

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b7C

[REDACTED] has now furnished me the attached copy of a letter from George F.
May, Commander of the American Legion post in Briarcliff Manor, New York, [REDACTED]
is not a Legion member) to the citizens of the Briarcliff School District. This letter
is critical of the Board of Education and furnishes copies of correspondence between

Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Cason _____
Mohr _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Enclosure

✓ cc - Fund for the Republic File 100-391697

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M. A. Jones to Nichols memo

December 17, 1956

May and [redacted]
[redacted] as well as a memorandum relating to Mortimer Adler's views on World Government.

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[redacted] has advised me that a copy of this letter was mailed to every family in Briarcliff Manor last month to counteract a "dirty campaign" which [redacted] states has been launched by Ferry's supporters. According to [redacted] some members of the American Legion have received obscene and threatening letters as a result of the Legion's objection to the "Essential Ideas Seminar." [redacted] also states that Ferry, through his influence with various newspapers, succeeded in having news articles published which are critical of the American Legion with respect to its controversy with the Board of Education. He states that the Legion will continue arguing against Adler, Ferry and the Fund for the Republic despite the opposition by what he terms to be "leftwingers."

[redacted] is aware of the critical attitude of Fulton Lewis, Jr., toward the Fund for the Republic. He states that material concerning the controversy in Briarcliff Manor over the "Essential Ideas Seminar" was sent Mr. Lewis, but no reply has been received.

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RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

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DATE 8-28-89 BY 8825108

Form No. 1
FD-4 (8-18-54)

Date 12/11/54

Director

FILE #

Att. Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

Title

- ☐ SAC
☐ ASAC
☐ Supv.
☐ Agent
☐ SE
☐ CC
☐ Steno
☐ Clerk

ACTION DESIRED

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| <input type="checkbox"/> Reassign to | <input type="checkbox"/> Initial & return | <input type="checkbox"/> Open Case |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Send Serials | <input type="checkbox"/> Search & return | <input type="checkbox"/> Expedite |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> Submit new charge-out | <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare tickler | <input type="checkbox"/> Call me |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Leads need attention | <input type="checkbox"/> Return serials | <input type="checkbox"/> See me |
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ENCLOSURE

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Communism
and
Civil
Liberties

by
WALTER MILLIS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 8-8-89 BY 208 BTJ/af

The Fund for the Republic
November, 1956

WALTER MILLIS is presently an independent writer and consultant, and since 1954 has served as a consultant for the Fund for the Republic. He was for many years the assistant chief editorial writer of "The New York Herald Tribune" and is the author of numerous books on military and diplomatic subjects. His most recent book, "Arms and Men," a study of American military policy, was published in October, 1956.

Additional copies of this booklet are available on request from the Fund for the Republic, 60 E. 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

I. The New Communist Line in America

THE AMERICAN COMMUNISTS' constant use of the constitutional guarantees in furtherance of a cause fanatically devoted to the destruction of those guarantees has always raised difficult problems for those interested in the maintenance of our civil liberties. The new "soft" line, finally announced in September, 1956, after much soul-searching by the national committee of the American Communist Party, promises to make these issues more difficult still. "Their new line," as Judge Harold R. Medina put it in an interview, "is more dangerous than the subversive one of the past. The really dangerous ones in the hard core center have simply changed their strategy; it would be a very grave mistake for America to become less vigilant." But he immediately added: "I'd rather see every Communist go scot free than abandon, dilute or diminish a single one of our constitutional freedoms, and that includes the Fifth Amendment."

The national committee's "draft resolution," adopted in mid-September, includes a long analysis of past "errors and weaknesses" of the party. While this provides interesting confirmation of the party's character as a conspiratorial agent of the Soviet Union, it also indicates the extent to which the new policies have been devised as a means of escaping the consequences. The over-all "error" was an excess of "left-sectarianism"—which appears to mean a fanatical devotion to the political interests of Communist Russia—that has resulted in the "isolation" of the American party.

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"To end its isolation and expand its mass work, the main task of the party today is to overcome completely the influence of left-sectarian estimates, policies and tactics in all fields of work," the committee said.

In the "fight for peace" left-sectarianism led them to overestimate the peril of "Wall Street's drive for world domination," and to concentrate too exclusively on saving Russia from such "war-mongers" as Eisenhower and Dulles, without realizing the strength of forces tending to "compel the Eisenhower Administration to enter into peaceful negotiation with the socialist world."

In the "fight against the Fascist danger," the Communists felt that they again overestimated the forces of evil; they too easily "gave up the fight for legality" and "tended to accept a status of illegality" from which they would now like to escape. In their estimate of the economic situation (and economic infallibility is the great claim of the Communist gospel) the party "never made an adequate analysis of the specific features of American capitalism." Instead, "it based itself on a one-sided and incomplete study of economic data, applying the Marxian theory of economic crisis in a routine, formal and doctrinaire manner."

Left-sectarianism, according to the committee, led to mistakes in tactics. Their infiltration of the labor unions ended in failure because "we did not view the labor movement realistically. . . . Our point of departure was our own concept of what the labor movement should be," and in their battles within the CIO they failed to realize that their pro-Soviet policies in matters "relating to political action, foreign affairs, economic outlook and trade union democracy" were only "laying the groundwork for expulsion."

Again, their attempts to infiltrate "the Negro people's struggle for equality and freedom" were "hobbled" by their left-sectarian effort to exploit the Negro community to their own ends. "We clung to negative attitudes toward non-Left led Negro organizations of the Negro people and their leaders," the committee said, while Left-led Negro organizations "were often burdened with 'special pleadings' in behalf of the general program of the Left." In particular their slogan: "Self-determination for the Negro nation of the Southern Black Belt" lacked validity "as a theoretical premise for our political estimate of the direction in which the Negro people's struggle in the South is developing"—in other words, was a bad tactical mistake.

In political action, again, "the support which the Party gave to the formation of the Progressive Party, for which no serious base existed in the trade union movement, was one of the most harmful sectarian mistakes of the past period. It flowed from and was conditioned by the sectarian estimates and policies which characterized the work of the Party in all other fields." More generally, the "sectarian" absorption in the interests of Soviet Communism has had lamentable results: "Our Party has also suffered from an oversimplified approach to and uncritical acceptance of many views of Marxists and Marxist parties in other countries. . . . The Party also viewed uncritically developments in the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. It mistakenly thought that any public criticism of the views or policies of the Marxist parties of these countries would bring comfort to the enemies of peace and socialism."

A group which can confess to "error" such as these can certainly lay no claim to having been a normal American political-party. But

the essence of the new policies announced by the draft resolution is an attempt to restore to it a greater appearance of being one. The Party's objective now is "to end its isolation and expand its mass work," in other words, to re-establish a position in the labor unions, with the Negro community, in schools and colleges. To this end it will resume "the fight for legality;" it will now operate in the open; it will eschew "left-sectarianism;" it will endeavor to strengthen its appeal to Americans by working less exclusively in the interests of Soviet Russia and in blind adherence to Marxist-Leninist dogma. The "fight for peace" will concentrate less completely upon the perils of "Wall Street's war-like, anti-American policy" and emphasize, rather, the promise of "the new perspectives of peaceful co-existence." In its economics it will look more closely at the actual facts of the American scene rather than at the prophecies of Marx and Lenin. It will attempt to re-infiltrate the labor movement by endorsing and supporting "the forward looking domestic and legislative proposals" of the labor movement itself. It will endeavor to further the major interests of the American Negro community, not try to subvert it into a weapon of Soviet Communist propaganda. The Communist Party itself will be preserved but it will henceforth endeavor to work with other "socialist-oriented and pro-Marxist currents and groupings," thus substituting a united front policy for the old one of capture, rule or ruin.

All this was too much for William Z. Foster, the national chairman, who cast the one vote in the national committee against the resolution and has now attacked it. It is all right, he has argued, to try to "Americanize" the party, but to abandon the thesis that "American imperialism" is a "real danger, and that American

policy is warlike and aimed at world domination" is to undermine "the whole political line of the party." Mr. Foster has logic on his side; but it is a logic which calls in question the reality of the new party line.

It seems clear that the new assumption of virtue has not converted this group, still conspiratorial in nature and in certain of its activities, into "just another American political party." But it is already acting like one. There is reportedly a renewal of Communist activity on the campuses and in those labor organizations where they retained a beachhead. There have been several attempts to bring Communist-influenced unions back into the AFL-CIO through mergers. It seems obvious that the new policies, with their assumption of legality, democracy and a more American outlook, would in any event be likely to raise again many of the civil liberties issues which have proved so difficult in the recent past. But when the new party promises to undertake "a new extension of the struggle to defend the Constitution and the Bill of Rights against their reactionary enemies of all types, "with a civil liberties program calling for repeal of the Smith act, the McCarran act, the Taft-Hartley act, "curbing or abolishing the Congressional witch-hunt committees," defending the Supreme Court against "Dixiecrat-McCarthyite attacks" and so on, those who are genuinely and deeply interested in the Constitution and its Bill of Rights have reason for some alarm. Since the Constitutional guarantees must impartially cover every citizen, whether Communist or not, we confront some hard issues of principle. Civil liberties organizations are likely also to find themselves facing some very dangerous would-be allies.

II. *The Fate of Civil Liberties Under Communist Rulers*

Nikita S. Khrushchev's now famous and terrible indictment of Stalin in his speech to the Twentieth Communist Party Congress was not only a shattering confession to the true nature of Communism; it was also one more exhibit in the long tale of tyranny and oppression written through the centuries by unlimited power and unbridled fanaticism. In 1789, Karl Marx was unborn and there were no dictatorships of the proletariat, but the authors of the American Constitution and its Bill of Rights were as familiar with the crimes of despotism as anyone is today. It was against just such perils that they wrote into the Constitution its specific guarantees of civil liberty and freedom of thought and belief. They knew that dogmatic tyranny over the mind was as dangerous as the tyranny over the person, to which it had so often led; and that the protection of individual right and dignity were essential to the protection of the community itself against just such horrors as Khrushchev has described.

The Khrushchev speech can be taken not only as a grim illustration of the meaning of civil liberties in general. Passage after passage can be set beside the relevant clauses of the Constitution to show why those clauses were drafted, what they were intended to guard against and specifically what their significance is today.

Thus Khrushchev explains the results of Stalin's use of the concept of treason, or the crime of being an "enemy of the people":

Stalin originated the concept "enemy of the people." This term automatically rendered it unnecessary that the ideological errors of a man or men engaged in a controversy be proven; this term made possible the usage of the most cruel

repression, violating all norms of revolutionary legality, against anyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin, against those who were only suspected of hostile intent, against those who had bad reputations.

We must assert that, in regard to those persons who in their time had opposed the party line, there were often no sufficiently serious reasons for their physical annihilation. The formula "enemy of the people" was specifically introduced for the purpose of physically annihilating such individuals.

These were precisely the abuses in the minds of the authors of the Constitution when they drafted its narrow definition of treason:

Art. 3, Sec. 3: Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them or adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the evidence of two persons to the same overt act.

Khrushchev illustrates the importance of regular meetings of the legislative authority:

Whereas during the first few years after Lenin's death party congresses and Central Committee plenums took place more or less regularly, later, when Stalin began increasingly to abuse his power, these principles were brutally violated. This was especially evident during the last fifteen years of his life. Was it a normal situation when thirteen years elapsed between the eighteenth and nineteenth party congresses, years during which our party and our country had experienced so many important events?

The Constitution provided against this sort of thing:

Art. 1, Sec. 4: The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year.

Khrushchev indicates what happens when the Executive becomes supreme:

[Stalin] discarded the Leninist method of convincing and educating: he abandoned the method of ideological struggle for that of administrative violence, mass repressions, and terror. He acted on an increasingly larger scale and more stubbornly through punitive organs, at the same time often violating all existing norms of morality and of Soviet laws.

Arbitrary behavior by one person encouraged and permitted arbitrariness in others. Mass arrests and deportations of many thousands of people, execution without trial and without normal investigation created conditions of insecurity, fear and even desperation.

The Constitution was careful to keep the Executive under limitations:

Art. 2, Sec. 1, 4: The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold office during the term of four years, and . . . be elected, as follows Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath He shall from time to time give the Congress information on the state of the Union He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed [and] shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Krushchev gives many examples of the necessity for the procedural protections embodied in the American Constitution: For instance:

The commission has become acquainted with a large quantity of materials in the N.K.V.D. archives and with other documents and has established many facts pertaining to the fabrication of cases against Communists, to false accusations, to glaring abuses of Socialist legality which resulted in the death of innocent people. It became apparent that many party, Government and economic activists who were branded in 1937-38 as "enemies," were actually never enemies, spies, wreckers, etc., but were always honest Communists.

They were only so stigmatized and often, no longer able to bear barbaric tortures, they charged themselves (at the order of the investigative judges—falsifiers) with all kinds of grave and unlikely crimes.

It was determined that of the 139 members and candidates of the party's Central Committee who were elected at the seventeenth congress, ninety-eight persons, i.e., 70 per cent, were arrested and shot (mostly in 1937-38). (Indignation in the hall.)

That is ample to show why the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was adopted:

5th Amendment: No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime except on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, . . . nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

Here is Khrushchev's description of the terror in the Soviet Union:

On the evening of Dec. 1, 1934, on Stalin's initiative the secretary of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, Abel S. Yenukidze, signed the following directive:

1. Investigative agencies are directed to speed up the cases of those accused of the preparation or execution of acts of terror.

2. Judicial organs are directed not to hold up the execution of death sentences pertaining to crimes of this category in order to consider the possibility of pardon. . . .

3. The organs of the Commissariat of Internal Affairs are directed to execute the death sentences against criminals of the above-mentioned category immediately after the passage of sentences.

This directive became the basis for mass acts of abuse against Socialist legality.

Here is the judicial process guaranteed to all Americans under the Constitution:

Art. 3, Sec. 1: The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme

Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain. . . . The trial of all crimes shall be by jury.

Khrushchev:

But as soon as we attained a decisive victory [in the Civil War of the '20's] we gave up the use of the death penalty and thus proved that we intend to execute our own program in the manner that we promised. We say that the application of violence flows out of the decision to smother the exploiters, the big landowners and the capitalists; as soon as this was accomplished we gave up the use of all extraordinary methods. We have proved this in practice.

Stalin deviated from these clear and plain precepts of Lenin. Stalin put the party and the N.K.V.D. up to the use of mass terror when the exploiting classes had been liquidated in our country and when there were no serious reasons for the use of extraordinary mass terror.

The Constitution:

8th Amendment: Cruel and unusual punishments [shall not be] inflicted.

Another example from Khrushchev:

Comrade Eikhe was arrested April 29, 1938 on the basis of slanderous materials, without the sanction of the prosecutor of the U.S.S.R., which was finally received fifteen months after the arrest. . . . Eikhe wrote in his declaration:

"On October 25 of this year I was informed that the investigation in my case has been concluded and I was given access to the materials of this investigation. Had I been guilty of only one-hundredth of the crimes with which I am charged, I would not have dared to send you this pre-execution declaration; however, I have not been guilty of even one of the things with which I am charged and my heart is clean of even the shadow of baseness . . .

"I am now alluding to the most disgraceful part of my life and to my really grave guilt against the party and against you. This is my confession of counter-revolutionary activity . . . The case is as follows: not being able to suffer the tortures to which I was submitted by Ush-

akov and Nikolayev—and especially by the first one—who utilized the knowledge that my broken ribs have not properly mended and have caused me great pain—I have been forced to accuse myself and others.

"The majority of my confession has been suggested or dictated by Ushakov, and the remainder is my reconstruction of NKVD materials from Western Siberia for which I assumed all responsibility. If some part of the story which Ushakov fabricated and which I signed did not properly hang together, I was forced to sign another variation. . . .

"I am asking and begging you that you again examine my case and this not for the purpose of sparing me but in order to unmask the vile provocation which like a snake wound itself around many persons in a great degree due to my meanness and criminal slander. I have never betrayed you or the party. I know that I perish because of vile and mean work of the enemies of the party and of the people, who fabricated the provocation against me."

On Feb. 4 Eikhe was shot. It has been definitely established now that Eikhe's case was fabricated; he has been posthumously rehabilitated.

The Constitution:

5th Amendment: No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself. 6th Amendment: In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury, . . . and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses . . . and to have the assistance of counsel.

Still another case to show what the 5th and 6th Amendments mean:

When Rozenblum was arrested in 1937 he was subjected to terrible torture, during which he was ordered to confess false information concerning himself and other persons. He was then brought to the office of Leonid Zakovsky,

who offered him freedom on condition that he make before the court a false confession fabricated in 1937 by the NKVD concerning "sabotage, espionage and diversion in a terroristic center in Leningrad.

"You, yourself," said Zakovsky, "will not need to invent anything. The N.K.V.D. will prepare for you a ready outline for every branch of the center; you will have to study it carefully and to remember well all questions and answers which the Court might ask. This case will be ready in four-five months, or perhaps a half year. During all this time you will be preparing yourself so that you will not compromise the investigation and yourself. Your future will depend on how the trial goes and on its results. If you begin to lie and to testify falsely, blame yourself. If you manage to endure it, you will save your head and we will feed and clothe you at the government's cost until your death."

Again:

In those years repressions on a mass scale were applied which were based on nothing tangible and which resulted in heavy cadre losses to the party. The vicious practice was condoned of having the N.K.V.D. prepare lists of persons whose cases were under the jurisdiction of the Military Collegium and whose sentences were prepared in advance. Yezhov would send these lists to Stalin personally for his approval of the proposed punishment. In 1937-38, 383 such lists containing the names of many thousands of party, Soviet, Komsomol, Army and economic workers were sent to Stalin. He approved these lists. . . .

Because of his extreme suspicion, Stalin toyed also with the absurd and ridiculous suspicion that Voroshnov was an English agent. (Laughter in the hall.) It's true, an English agent. A special tapping device was installed in his home to listen to what was said there. (Indignation in the hall.)

The Constitution:

4th Amendment: The right of people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and

effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath.

For obvious reasons Khrushchev nowhere accused Stalin of violating the freedoms of speech and press, but two extracts from the Khrushchev speech are at least illustrative:

Comrades: The cult of the individual acquired such monstrous size chiefly because Stalin himself, using all conceivable methods, supported the glorification of his own person. This is supported by numerous facts. One of the most characteristic examples of Stalin's self-glorification and of his lack of even elementary modesty is the edition of his "Short Biography," which was published in 1948. . . . We should in all seriousness consider the question of the cult of the individual. We cannot let this matter get out of the party, especially not to the press. It is for this reason that we are considering it here at a closed Congress session. We should know the limits; we should not give ammunition to the enemy; we should not wash our dirty linen before their eyes. I think that the delegates to the Congress will understand and assess properly all these proposals.

The Constitution:

1st Amendment: Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion . . . ; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

The Constitution and its carefully-wrought guarantees had more than a paper meaning in the context of its own times. It has more than a paper meaning today. The evils which it was specifically intended to prevent have in great areas of the earth grown to colossal proportions; and they could conceivably appear within our own community unless more than lip-

service is given to the basic principles which the Constitution enshrines—the limitation of power, the reign of law, and the protections of due process to preserve the individual against the tyranny of the state, to maintain the freedom of thought, of belief and of speech without which a people cannot hope either to know the road it is travelling or shape its own destinies.

The Directors of the Fund for the Republic:

CHESTER BOWLES
Former Governor of Connecticut
CHARLES W. COLE
President, Amherst College
RUSSELL L. DEARMONT
Vice President, Missouri Pacific Railroad Company
ERWIN N. GRISWOLD
Dean, Harvard Law School
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2ND
Theatrical producer and writer
PAUL G. HOFFMAN
Chairman of the Board, The Studebaker-Packard Corporation
ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
Former Chancellor of the University of Chicago
WILLIAM H. JOYCE, JR.
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Former Mayor of San Francisco
M. ALBERT LINTON
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J. HOWARD MARSHALL
Vice President, Signal Oil and Gas Co.
JOHN LORD O'BRIAN
Attorney
JUBAL R. PARTEN
President, Woodley Petroleum Co.
ELMO ROPER
Marketing consultant and public opinion analyst
GEORGE N. SHUSTER
President, Hunter College
ELEANOR B. STEVENSON
Oberlin, Ohio
JAMES D. ZELLERBACH
President, Crown Zellerbach Corporation

The Officers of the Fund:

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ADAM YARMOLINSKY, *Secretary*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: December 17, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

SUBJECT:

b6
 b7C

[redacted] of the New York Times called. His New York office had asked him to check on the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings on the Fund for the Republic. He did not have all the testimony which was taken on July 10, 1956. "John Cogley of the Fund for the Republic was testifying and Dick Arens asked him the question as to whether he knew the FBI had accumulated a mass of information which was available to organizations. Cogley did not know that this was the case.

Arens then reportedly stated, "You know that the FBI has a vast amount of information available to organizations and private groups." [redacted] inquired finally if I knew what Arens was talking about and I said I did not, but that I did know that the FBI has no amount of information which is available to private groups. We are checking on testimony and if it is not clearly delineated, I will then talk to Arens when he returns to Washington in a week or 10 days.

LBN:hpf
 (4)

cc - Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont

63681
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 11/5/62 BY SP6 BIP
 88357368
 8-8-89

EX 101

RECORDED - 49

100-371617-445

Jones to Nichols
 12-19-56
 Wch

52 JAN 18 1957

Roach
 3

H&H

PERS

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: December 19, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Ladd _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

BACKGROUND:

You advised that [] of the New York Times was checking on House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings on the Fund for the Republic. He inquired concerning testimony taken July 10, 1956, in Washington, D. C. John Cogley of the Fund for the Republic was testifying and Dick Arens asked him the question as to whether he knew the FBI had accumulated a mass of information which was available to organizations. Cogley did not know that this was the case. Arens then reportedly stated, "You know that the FBI has a vast amount of information available to organizations and private groups."

[] and you told [] inquired if you knew what Arens was talking about that the FBI has no amount of information which is available to private groups. You desired that this be checked out so that you can talk to Arens about it when he returns to Washington.

FACTS CONCERNING ARENS' STATEMENTS:

Part one of the transcript of hearings before the HCUA on July 10 and 11, 1956, contains interrogation of John Cogley who was in charge of the blacklisting survey conducted by the Fund for the Republic. A portion of the questioning deals with the collection and formation of the staff under Cogley. The pertinent portion on pages 5180 and 5181 reads as follows:

Mr. Arens. Did you engage any former FBI agents as your assistants to develop this study?

Mr. Cogley. Not that I know of.

Mr. Arens. Did you, in the course of your work in developing the facts for this study, consult with the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. Cogley. No, sir.

Mr. Arens. Did you know that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has an accumulation of information which is available to such organizations as the Fund for the Republic and other such groups upon solicitation?

Mr. Cogley. No; I did not know that at the time.

Mr. Arens. Did you subsequently learn that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has a vast accumulation of information which is available to

cc - Mr. Nichols
 cc - Mr. Boardman
 cc - Mr. Belmont

HEH:jac

(6)

SENT DIRECTOR

12/20/56

PERS FILES

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 61-26003-319

Jones to Nichols Memo

December 19, 1956

private foundations and groups on various subjects within the purview of the jurisdiction of the Bureau?

Mr. Cogley. I did not know until right now.

A review of the remainder of the testimony by Cogley reveals no further discussion on this topic.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For your information in your discussion with Arens.

J m. L. L jump
Arens on this
LBN

| I will jump Arens on this.
LBN

V. m. L.

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: January 3, 1957

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Nease _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

I talked to Richard Arens, the counsel for the HCUA, regarding the manner in which he questioned John Cogley wherein he asked Cogley if he knew that the FBI had an accumulation of information available on such organizations as the Fund for the Republic.

Arens stated he, of course, remembered this and that in the questioning which preceded he had sought to lay grounds to bring out that Cogley had not diligently sought to secure information from anti-communist sources. He showed that Cogley had not contacted the HCUA about communism generally and did not have in mind that the FBI would have any information available from its files. What he had in mind were the annual reports of the Bureau, statements and speeches by the Director, and other publications.

cc - Mr. Boardman
 cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:rm
 (4)

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 DATE 1/5/82 BY SPV/bJA/pf

DATE 1/5/82

INDEXED - 44

RECORDED - 44

EX-125

JAN 14 1957

file 100-39167

LIAISON
 OFFICE
 WY

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 61 43 210-1

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: January 22, 1957

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-2-89 BY 2038(SJS)

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
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Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Pursuant to Mr. Nichols' request for a brief summary as indicated in his memorandum to Mr. Telson dated January 17, 1957, Bufiles have been reviewed concerning [REDACTED] a Yale professor. The HCUA plans to call [REDACTED] as a witness in its contemplated hearings on the Fund for the Republic (FFR).

Mr. Nichols' memorandum indicated that Dick Arens of the HCUA had inquired whether [REDACTED] had admitted to the Bureau his membership in the Communist Party (CP), and if the Bureau could corroborate same.

There is attached a brief summary on [REDACTED] which was prepared for the Director on 7/7/55. Briefly, [REDACTED] appeared at the Boston Office in 3/53 and executed a voluntary signed statement admitting CP membership at Harvard from 1948 to April, 1949, using the name of [REDACTED] and activity in the National Lawyers Guild 1949-1950. Bufiles contain no additional pertinent information subsequent to 7/7/55 summary.

With reference to above, Karl Baarslag of HCUA contacted Bureau on 5/24/56 and stated that Committee planned to call [REDACTED] during proposed hearings on FFR and that he was aware of [REDACTED] communist activities at Harvard. (100-391697-979)

Baarslag again contacted Bureau on 6/13/56 and reiterated the Committee's intention to call Westin as a witness. He inquired if such action would jeopardize any Bureau activity and if [REDACTED] had been cooperative with the Bureau. On 6/16/56, Baarslag was briefed by Mr. Nichols' Office re [REDACTED] communist activities as admitted to us. He was told that [REDACTED] had furnished information re communist activities of other individuals. He was advised that so far as we knew, there was no way to independently put [REDACTED] in the Party. (61-7582-3125)

ACTION: 397-13

That this memorandum be referred to Mr. Nichols for his information.

Enclosure
VFE:bjt
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
Bufile (100-391697)

100-391697-
NOT RECORDED
191 JAN 29 1957

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

INT. SEC.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 1-24-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols

INDEXED - 90

SUBJECT:

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

Irving Ferman left with me the attached copy of the January Bulletin of the Fund for the Republic which represents somewhat of a departure in the program of the Fund for the Republic. He stated that he had lunch with Elmo Roper and Robert Maynard Hutchins recently in New York City and that he found Hutchins considerably chastened, very affable and almost admitting that the Fund had made tremendous mistakes.

Ferman did not get anything too specific but gained the impression that the Fund might underwrite a study of wire tapping. I told Ferman that he might bear in mind sometime when he is talking to these people he might suggest a research project whereby some of the fundamental problems protecting society could be surveyed such as how to penetrate a conspiracy; how to penetrate a clandestine organization and clandestine meetings; how to penetrate an underground organization, whether it be of the right or the left; how to get into the secret meetings of the Ku Klux Klan and secure evidence of subversive activities; how to penetrate the meeting of bank robbers planning to rob a bank; and how to convert secret speech to free speech.

Ferman stated this gave him several ideas and he would have some fun with them.

LBN:hpf
 (4)
 Enclosure

cc - Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont

RECORDED-90

INDEXED - 90

INDEXED-8

NO INDEX

20 JAN 30 1957

ENCLOSURE
 #90

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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 DATE 3-8-89 BY 2583 JTB

The Fund for the Republic

The fourth number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of leading questions in the field of civil liberties, and to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.

REDEFINING CIVIL LIBERTIES

The three and a half years' experience of the Fund for the Republic in the field of civil liberties has emphasized what is perhaps a truism: that the really basic issues involved are those of definition, rather than of fact-finding or of publicity.

On the broad principles of free, popular government under due process of law—as embodied for Americans in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and its Bill of Rights—there is no appreciable dispute. Nowhere are they explicitly challenged; and even those who, like the Communists, most plainly reject them do not fail to give them devoted lip-service. There is no doubt of the value of fact-finding, public discussion and popular education in the furtherance of great principles. Yet these are only tools and they are tools that can be used effectively only where there is general agreement upon

the interpretation of the facts disclosed or the meaning of the principles which are being publicized. The fundamental and most significant task in the field of civil liberties is to obtain as clear and widely-agreed a definition of the basic principles, as applied to contemporary conditions, as may be possible.

No doubt this has always been true. It is a commonplace that each generation has been compelled to redefine the constitutional rights and guarantees in accordance with its own conscience and the conditions confronting it. Many of those who in 1776 put their signatures to the statement that "all men are created equal" and are endowed with an "unalienable" right to liberty were slave-owners; and the modifying definitions which they gave to that statement in order to perpetuate chattel slavery had to be wholly revised by a later age. While the Sedition Act of 1798 was

"palpably" unconstitutional to Jefferson, the Federalists who adopted it could bring a weighty constitutional argument to its defense; it was only later that the Jeffersonian definition of the principle of the First Amendment was firmly established.

This task of redefinition is unending. But it seems peculiarly difficult today as we seek to apply principles formulated in the simple and mainly agrarian society of the late 18th Century to political, social and material conditions which have been so vastly transformed since that day. The guarantee against unreasonable search and seizure could not foresee the telephone or the electronic wire-tap. The guaranteed freedom of speech and press could not provide for the radio and TV, where government regulation is unavoidable because of the physical limitation of the channels. The authors of the First Amendment could not foresee the enormous increase in the cost and concentration of all the mass media; nor the development of subtle advertising and propagandist techniques in government and politics as well as in commerce; nor the polarization of international society and the development of the mass-destruction weapons, which have put so frightful a premium on governmental secrecy, "security" and the extirpation of subversion. The Fourteenth Amendment sought to protect the political rights of Negroes; it did not foresee those changes in the moral climate and in the Negro citizen's economic, political and intellectual status which would lead the Supreme Court to extend the "equal protection" clause to forbid segregated schooling.

The very idea of civil liberty implies a sound reconciliation of the conflicting claims of the diversified individual, the pluralistic community and the unitary state. The balance must be always shifting; but to place it accurately today is extraordinarily difficult. The state has acquired a centralized power beyond anything before known under a free government; the pluralistic organizations expressing the many interests of

the community—political parties, industrial corporations, labor unions, pressure groups, the apparatus of education and research, churches, racial minority organizations, voluntary associations—have in general grown larger, more impersonal, less hospitable to individual initiative and variety than their counterparts of the past. In what way the constitutional and traditional protections of the individual—protections which have always stood as the singular heritage of a free and responsible people—must be redefined to meet these situations is a highly complex problem. It is the central and basic problem of ~~civil liberties today.~~

Civil Liberty and the Law

Traditionally, lawyers have a central function in the process of redefinition. No matter where the process begins, at some point it is almost sure to be expressed in the language of the law, whether in a legislative enactment or a judicial decision, or even in the by-laws of a private organization. This is not to say that lawyers have always been equal to their responsibilities. Too often the Bar has been pushed into law reform by the indignation of the lay public. The law appears to catch up with society only by spasmodic efforts. The legislative power is ponderous and uncertain in its exercise. And when a basic redefinition is at last achieved, as in the Supreme Court's decision against segregated schooling, it may take much more than the courts and the legal system to secure its effective application.

Yet the lawyer's art is important to the redefinition of minimal rights and decencies in a changing society. It is for this reason that the Fund for the Republic has put a considerable amount of effort into encouraging work in the civil liberties field by law schools and bar associations. The Fund does not attempt to influence legislation, and it is not its function or its policy to

intervene directly in civil liberties cases (as does the American Civil Liberties Union, for example), to furnish counsel or offer *amicus curiae* briefs. But it has supported, or helped to support, numerous special studies by law schools and bar groups; its fellowship grants have assisted individual legal scholars; it has tried to awaken a greater interest among lawyers generally in the legal aspects of the more significant civil liberties problems of the time.

The Fund and the Legal Profession

Some of the legal studies which the Fund has financed or assisted have already demonstrated a remarkable practical impact on affairs. Doubtless the most important is the study of the Federal loyalty-security programs, financed by a grant of \$100,000 from the Fund but conducted independently by a special committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, under the chairmanship of Mr. Dudley B. Bonsal. Its findings not only received wide public approval, but some of them seem to have been reflected in recent Federal policy.

Other of the Fund's grants and projects in this field are as follows:

Vanderbilt University Law School: To establish "Race Relations Law Reporter," a bi-monthly publication of legal developments relating to school desegregation and other race relations problems \$200,000

Case Studies in Personnel Security: A collection of some 350 such cases (fifty of which have been published) compiled under the direction of Adam Yarmolinsky with the cooperation of lawyers throughout the country 92,150

Two Reference Volumes on Communism in the United States, prepared under the direction of Prof. Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard Law School: **Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States** and **Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States** (a collection of abstracts of decisions, laws, hearings and other public documents relating to Communism in the U.S.) 62,882

Stanford University Law School: For an analysis of the testimony of prominent anti-Communist witnesses in courts and before investigating committees 55,000

For a study by members of the *Stanford Law Review* of the industrial security program at selected plants in California 5,000

Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the NAACP: For education of the Negro community in its rights, and defense of equal rights for Negroes 50,000

Bar Association of St. Louis Foundation: To sponsor open forum TV programs on civil liberties subjects 47,000

Bureau of National Affairs: To assist in the publication of "Government Security and Loyalty," a manual of laws, regulations and procedures. 41,932

Pennsylvania Bar Association Endowment: For a study of the rights of privacy as affected by law enforcement methods 40,000

Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund: For a joint study of representation for indigent defendants in criminal cases by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and the National Legal Aid Association 40,000

For a legal referral service on personnel security cases (jointly with the *New York County Lawyers Association*) 15,000

Bar Association

am in the representa-
in civil liberties cases5,000

Voluntary Defenders Committee of Boston: To assist in expanding its work for indigent criminal defendants40,000

University of Pennsylvania Law School: For a study by the Institute of Legal Research of postal and customs censorship of obscene, subversive and other non-mailable matters33,900

For a student research program in civil liberties subjects5,610

American Bar Foundation: For a study by the Special Committee on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security of the American Bar Association of the procedures of Congressional investigating committees25,430

Toledo Bar Association: For support of a referral service in civil liberties cases and other educational activities10,000

University of Virginia Law School: For a summer research program by students on civil liberties topics in the field of municipal law3,500

Columbia University Law School: For a study by the Columbia Law Review of the legal problems of U.S. soldiers accused of misconduct while prisoners of war in Korea1,670

The Fund has expended \$245,917 on its programs of fellowships and grants-in-aid to assist individual scholars in work upon civil liberties subjects. Among these have been a number of lawyers and legal students. In addition, several of the Fund's major projects in fields not directly connected with the law—as, for example, the Report on Blacklisting—have necessitated extensive legal study.

"Integration North and South" by David Loth and Harold Fleming, recently published by the Fund for the Republic, has been extensively reported in the press and has received wide editorial coverage as well. Excerpts from an editorial in the *Hartford Courant* follow:

"The Fund for the Republic has just finished a worth-while study of the progress being made in desegregation. It finds that the old Solid South of segregation and Jim Crow no longer exists. Despite the noise and the fiery statements coming from below the Mason-Dixon line, desegregation is a reality more often than not. And the rigid caste lines that once existed throughout the South have largely been eroded, with compromises being made even in the most backward areas.

"The compilers of the study say in a foreword, 'The common notion that desegregation just can't work in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings.' They found 1,100 separate instances of desegregation, almost evenly divided between the border states on the one hand and the 12 Southern states on the other.

Virtually all of them took place smoothly. . .

"If one views the progress we have made here in Connecticut in the past 20 years, it is possible to get the proper perspective. For as recently as two decades ago Negroes were barred from nursing schools in Connecticut, were employed only as porters or elevator operators in department stores, and were banned from trade unions. All these taboos were knocked down, and still the heavens did not fall.

"That same pattern of progress will be observed in the South, more slowly to be sure, for there the prejudices are deeper. But progress is inevitable, and will be accelerated as the older generation steeped in the Old South's ways dies off, to be replaced by another generation more used to seeing the Negro treated with decent fairness. . . ."



Elmo Roper



Alicia Patterson



Bruce Catton



Harry S. Ashmore

Directors Elected

At the annual meeting of the Directors of the Fund for the Republic on November 15, Elmo Roper, public opinion analyst, was elected Chairman of the Board, succeeding Paul G. Hoffman, who will continue as a Director.

Three new Directors were elected: Alicia Patterson, editor and publisher of Newsday, Long Island newspaper; Bruce Catton, Pulitzer prize-winning historian, of Bethesda, Md.; and Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of The Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Ark.

These three Directors replaced the following former members of the Board: Chester Bowles, former Ambassador to India; John Lord O'Brian, attorney; and James D. Zellerbach, president of Crown Zellerbach Corporation.

Printed Materials

Copies of the following are available in limited numbers on request to the Fund for the Republic:

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Report May 31, 1955.

Three-Year Report, May 31, 1956.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Bulletin, May 1956, "Civil Liberties and Race Relations."

Bulletin, June 1956, "Civil Liberties: A Three-Year Effort."

Bulletin, September 1956, "Congressman Walter Investigates."

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Facts No. 1, "Aims and Organization."

Facts No. 2, "Three-Part Study: The Communist Record in the United States."

Facts No. 3, "Grants to Religious Organizations."

Facts No. 4, "Freedom Agenda."

Facts No. 5, "Distribution of Publications."

THE BILL OF RIGHTS YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

Talk by Robert M. Hutchins.

THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS

"Three Views" by William Faulkner, Benjamin E. Mays and Cecil Sims.

THE LOUISVILLE STORY

Article by Omer Carmichael, Louisville, Ky., Superintendent of Schools, reprinted from *The New York Times*.

A TALK FOR STUDENTS

By Robert Frost.

LITERATURE AND CENSORSHIP

Talk by Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., reprinted from *Books on Trial*.

THE BALANCED AMERICAN

Talk by Ray Murphy, Past National Commander of the American Legion.

The following Fund publications are for sale through Meridian Books, 15 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.:

A REPORT ON BLACKLISTING

By John Cogley. Vol. I, Movies; Vol. II, Radio-TV. \$1.25 each.

INTEGRATION NORTH AND SOUTH

"Progress Memorandum" by David Loth and Harold Fleming. 40 cents. Prices on bulk orders available on request.

The Board of Directors of The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

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ALICIA PATTERSON
Editor and Publisher, Newsday
Garden City, L. I.

ELEANOR B. STEVENSON
Oberlin, Ohio

Additional copies of this
Bulletin are available on request.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-8-89 BY 8837J/ag

Mr. Nichols

January 18, 1957

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
JANUARY 18, 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-7-89 BY 20251108

On his broadcast of January 18, 1957, Mr. Lewis announced that Federal Judge Ross Rizley had sentenced Mary Knowles to 120 days in jail and fined her \$500. It will be recalled that on 1-10-57 Mary Knowles was found guilty on 52 counts of contempt of Congress which charges arose from her testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Mr. Lewis again brought out that the Fund for the Republic had voted a \$500 award to the Quaker Monthly Meeting in Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, which employed Mrs. Knowles following her dismissal as librarian in Norwood, Massachusetts. Mr. Lewis pointed out, however, that the Quaker Monthly Meeting had never accepted the grant from the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. Lewis also mentioned that W. H. Ferry had dictated the memorandum to the Publicity Director of the Fund for the Republic when the Fund was championing the cause of Mrs. Knowles and that this memorandum bore a pencil notation by Ferry that stated that P. Hoffman wanted to see this on the front page of everything. According to Mr. Lewis, P. Hoffman was, of course, Paul Hoffman, formerly associated with the Fund for the Republic, and Mr. Lewis pointed out that Hoffman was a confidant of President Eisenhower and was recently appointed to the United Nations. Mr. Lewis also pointed out that Eleanor B. Stevenson, wife of the President of Oberlin (Ohio) College, had written Ferry backing the Fund's grant to the Quaker Monthly Meeting. According to Lewis, Mrs. Stevenson had stated she did not care to have such information come into the possession of the Citizens for Philbrick or Fulton Lewis, Jr. Mr. Lewis stated he was happy to be classified with the Citizens for Philbrick and wondered why Mrs. Stevenson should be opposed to men like Philbrick who had risked his life in the fight against communism by aiding the FBI.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Young, Room 7631
cc - 100-391697

FJH:agp
(7)

100-391697-
NOT RECORDED
167 JAN 24 1957

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON ✓

DATE: January 31, 1957

FROM : L. B. NICHOLS

SUBJECT:
FIFIELD WORKHAMb6
b7C

Tolson	_____
Nichols	✓
Boardman	_____
Belmont	✓
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Stanley Tracy advised my office today that he had received confidential information to the effect that a representative of the New York State Bar, would make an inquiry into passport procedures at the Department of State for the Fund for the Republic. The Fund for the Republic was reportedly financing this project.

Tracy called back at 6 P.M. this afternoon and advised that his source of information had proved wrong. He stated that actually was making the inquiry and was being assisted by one Fifield Workham. Tracy stated he wanted to notify us right away in view of the inaccuracy.

b6
b7C

We are checking files on and Fifield Workham and a memorandum will be submitted expeditiously regarding them.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-8-89 BY 058 BTJ/ag

cc-Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Jones

CDD:jmr
(5)

IND

12 FEB 5 1957

449

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

2/5/57

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-29383)

ATTENTION: ASSISTANT TO DIRECTOR
L. B. NICHOLS

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
INFORMATION CONCERNING

80603

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

[redacted] HCUA, on 2/5/57, confidentially advised SA JOSEPH A. CONNORS that information had been received by the Committee that the Fund for the Republic has given a grant of money to the Bar Association of New York City for the purpose of studying State Department procedures in passport matters.

One of the Directors of this study is [redacted] (not further identified). The Chairman is Mr. FIFIELD WORKAM of the New York City Bar. Another attorney named [redacted] of the NYC Bar is associated with this study. [redacted] (former General Counsel, Department of State) has been asked to be a member. [redacted] has been received from [redacted]

[redacted] is reported to have had an appointment at the State Department on 1/31/57. [redacted] will seek an appointment at the Department of Justice with [redacted] [redacted] reportedly will seek an appointment at HCUA and the Senate Internal Security Committee. [redacted] reportedly will also seek an appointment with [redacted] of the Commission on Government Security. [redacted] stated that to his knowledge, [redacted] has not yet contacted HCUA.

[redacted] did not disclose the source of this information but stated he believed it to be reliable.

For info.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

- ③ - Bureau
- 2 - WFO
- 1 - 100-22169

JAC:rcs
(5)

AIRTEL

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EX-123
RECORDED - 23

100-391697-450

FILED 22 1957

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file 100-391697

2 - Original and copy
1 - Yellow file copy

SAC, New York

February 8, 1957

Director, FBI (100-391697)

**THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(Central Research Section)**

You should discreetly obtain twelve copies of the publication "Communism and Civil Liberties" by Walter Millis. This publication was issued by The Fund for the Republic, Inc., and is available upon request from the organization's office at 60 East Forty-second Street, New York, New York. Copies of this publication should be forwarded to the Bureau by routing slip marked for the attention of the Central Research Section.

JFC:mjh
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-2-81 BY 80251 JAB

NOTE: Millis' article reviewed by Bureau in December, 1946. (100-3-5764, 5804)
Additional copies requested to be used for research and reference purposes.
Cost of publication is unknown.

RECORDED-65/100-391697-457

Wilson _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: February 1, 1957

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FIFIELD WORKUM *BORN 1899 Place Belgium*
 MEMBER OF LAW FIRM,
 SIMPSON, THATCHER AND BARTLETT
 120 BROADWAY
 NEW YORK CITY *N.Y.*

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

PURPOSE:

On January 31, 1957, Mr. Tracy advised you that captioned individual and [redacted] of the New York State Bar were going to make an inquiry into passport procedures at the Department of State. Reportedly, the Fund for the Republic is financing this project. *b6 b7C*

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

The "Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory" for 1957 reveals that Workum was born in 1899. He attended Harvard University receiving B.A. and LL.B. degrees and was admitted to practice law in the State of New York in 1924. He is a member of the firm of Simpson, Thatcher and Bartlett with offices at 120 Broadway, New York City.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Workum was interviewed by the New York Office in connection with an "Internal Security-G Registration Act" investigation in 1942. He was cooperative, but no personal data was reported other than his employment was with the firm of Simpson, Thatcher and Bartlett at that date. (97-1154-11)

Attention is directed to the spelling of the given name Workum rather than Workham as related to you by Tracy.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

JK:jac
 (5)

ADDENDUM: JK:mlw 2-1-57. "The Washington Star" for January 11, 1956, contained an article stating that on January 10, 1956, the District of Columbia Bar Association voted to organize a nonprofit association to study State Department passport policies as an initial project. The article stated that the Fund for the Republic had offered \$25,000 to the association for assistance in this project. (100-391697 sub A)

RECORDED-4

INDEXED-6

FEB 12 1957

100-391697-452
 100-391697-452
 100-391697-452

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *Went to*

FROM : L. B. Nichols *Went to*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

DATE: 2-15-57 *Went to*

Tolson ☒

Boardman ☒

Nichols ☒

Belmont ☒

Harbo ☐

Mohr ☐

Parsons ☐

Rosen ☐

Tamm ☐

Sizoo ☐

Winterrowd ☐

Tele. Room ☐

Holloman ☐

Gandy ☐

b6

b7C

[] Consultant, House Committee on Un-American Activities, advised DeLoach on 2-14-57 that the scheduled hearings regarding the Fund For the Republic would not be held in March as planned but would be put off until around the middle of April. [] stated this action was necessary in view of the inability of the National Commander of the American Legion Dan Daniel to be in Washington during the month of March.

ACTION:For information. *✓*

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Mr. Jones

CDD:nl

(5)

RECORDED - 33

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-2-89 BY 10372

100-391697-453

LIAISON

file 100-391697

51 FEB 26 1957

Mr. Nichols

February 1, 1957

Mr. A. Jones

[REDACTED]
LAW PROFESSOR
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW

b6
b7C

PURPOSE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-2-89 BY SP8 BTJ/A

You requested information on the captioned individual who with Fifield Workum, is to make a study of passport procedures at the Department of State. This study is allegedly to be financed by the Fund for the Republic. Mr. Tracy advised you January 31, 1957, that he had received confidential information that such an inquiry would be made.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

Bufiles reveal that [REDACTED] was born at [REDACTED]. He attended the University of Georgia, receiving an A.B. degree and continuing in the School of Law where he received an LL.B degree in 1950. In 1951 and 1952 [REDACTED] was a candidate for a J.S.D. degree at the Law School of Yale University. He served in the U. S. Air Force from 1943 until January, 1947, and was employed as an educational specialist by the Army, 1951. He was a Law Professor at New York University in [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was employed by [REDACTED]. From July, 1953, to September, 1953, he performed legal work for the Foreign Operations Administration at Washington, D. C., and returned to New York University as a Law Professor in September, 1953. He resides at [REDACTED] (128-4678)

b6
b7C

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

The Bureau completed an applicant-type investigation (International Development Program) of [REDACTED] in August, 1952. No derogatory information was disclosed as a result of this investigation. This file also contains a letter from the Executive Secretary of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government dated August 4, 1955, addressed to the FBI, returning investigative material furnished to the Commission on [REDACTED] (128-4678)

b6
b7C

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Gandy _____

cc - J. W. Brown, Room 7637
JK:fp/pwl
(7)

NOT RECORDED
133 FEB 11 1957

Jones to Nichols memorandum

10544 February 1, 1957

By letter to the Director May 5, 1954, [] stated he would like to bring a group of Latin-American attorneys who were attending an Inter-American Law Institute at New York University for a tour of the Bureau. He also requested that they be permitted to meet with the Director. By letter of May 10, 1954, the Director acknowledged [] letter inviting the group on a tour and stating that he was unable to make a definite appointment to meet them. They were taken on a special tour May 21, 1954 but did not meet the Director. A similar group was taken on a special tour of the Bureau on May 20, 1955 at [] request. (94-1-760-298; 94-2-31674)

b6
b7C

In August, 1956, the Washington Field Office advised that information had been received from the Passport Office of the Department of State that one [] of [] who was born in [] Florida, [] made application for a passport to travel to Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary. No additional information was reported. (100-351585-361)

b6
b7C

A copy of this memorandum is being directed to the Liaison Section as they have received an inquiry concerning [] from the State Department.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

ADDENDUM: JK:mlw 2-1-57 "The Washington Star" for January 11, 1956, contained an article stating that on January 10, 1956, the District of Columbia Bar Association voted to organize a nonprofit association to study State Department passport policies as an initial project. The article stated that the Fund for the Republic had offered \$25,000 to the association for assistance in this project. (100-391897 sub A)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: February 21, 1957

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-2-89 BY 20820510

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Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

According to the 2/19/57 issue of the Washington "Evening Star," three area residents are among the winners in the Fund for the Republic's \$10,000 American Traditions Project. The three winners are: [redacted] and [redacted] employees of the "Star" and [redacted] for the Radio-Television Branch of the Army who lives in Arlington, Virginia. The article stated that additional winners would be announced at a later date.

The American Traditions Project was designed to collect true stories about groups or individuals who successfully stood up for the rights to think and read freely and who followed the dictates of conscience or who applied the Bill of Rights to human situations in the face of considerations of "expediency." Each winner of a cash prize may designate a tax-exempt charitable institution to receive a sum to be given in his name equal to the amount of his winning.

Bufiles indicate that [redacted] for the "Star" has not been investigated by the Bureau and we have maintained cordial relations with him in the past.

[redacted] was the subject of an applicant-type investigation (Voice of America) conducted by the Bureau in 1953, which developed nothing derogatory concerning him. (123-14876)

[redacted] has not been investigated by the Bureau; however, he came to the Bureau's attention in February, 1948, by offering to furnish information to our Birmingham Office concerning communist activities in that area. This apparently was in connection with an article he was writing on communism. In view of his newspaper affiliations he was not encouraged. In January, 1952, [redacted] wrote an article for [redacted] entitled "How About the Rest of These FBI 'Commies'?" The article indicated that Bureau policy with regard to informants in the Communist Party may be one of ingratitude and that the informant may only clear his name by testifying in court. The inaccuracy of this article was brought to the attention of [redacted] officials by Mr. Nichols on 1/31/52. (100-380745)

ACTION: CLOSURE

RECORDED - 14

INDEXED - 14

None. For your information.

100-391601-454

PCJ:bjt (5)

1 - Mr. Nichols

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Section Tickler

1 - Mr. Young

12 FEB 27 1957

100-391601-454

12 FEB 27 1957

SEARCHED

2 on Star, Arlington Man Win 'Traditions' Prizes

Three Washington area residents, two of them members of The Star's news staff, are among the winners in the Fund for the Republic's \$10,000 American Traditions Project.

The three winners are:

David Koonce of The Star, who was one of six to share the first prize of \$2,500.

L. Edgar Prina of The Star, who won the fifth prize, one of 10 \$100 awards.

Stanley Field, chief of production for the radio-television branch of the Army, who lives at 3362 North Dickerson street, Arlington, who was ninth in the list, winning one of the \$100 prizes.

The American Traditions Project was designed to collect true stories about groups or individ-

uals who successfully stood up for the rights to think and read freely and who followed the dictates of conscience, or who applied the Bill of Rights to human situations in the face of considerations of "expediency."

Koonce's Nomination

Mr. Koonce won by nominating John Orr of Miami, Fla.

Mr. Orr, a man of political ambitions since his youth, appeared to be on his way to realize them with his election to the Florida Legislature. But when a number of segregation bills were introduced, he announced that he could not go along with them and eloquently criticized them as wrong, unfair and pulling down the white people while attempting to segregate Negroes. He announced he was a member of the National Association for the Colored People.

His actions appeared to jeopardize his future. But he was subsequently re-elected to the Legislature.

Five others besides Mr. Koonce also nominated Mr. Orr.

The subjects of the prize-winning letters receive no cash prizes but honors. Mr. Orr will be present at a dinner at which all the prizes are to be announced, to be held at 7:30 p.m. Friday in the Mayflower Hotel.

WGAY Official Nominated

Mr. Field's letter nominated Joseph L. Brechner for honors. Mr. Brechner is general manager of Station WGAY at Silver Spring. Mr. Field said his letter pointed out that Mr. Brechner saw to it that both the minority as well as the majority received a hearing in a dispute over banning a book selected for the Montgomery County Schools. The ban was finally rescinded.

Mr. Prina's letter described the long uphill battle waged by Mrs. Mary Farquharson of the Seattle Urban League to obtain reinstatement for a Negro carpenter. He had been fired as a "security risk" from his non-sensitive Army job at Fort Lewis, Wash. The Army finally reversed its decision and restored the man to the job with back pay.

One of the prize-winning letters took as its subject former Senator Harry P. Cain, former member of the Subversive Activities Control Board. Early in 1955 he sharply criticized the administration's employment program. His crusade created a gulf between him and Republican leaders, and he was denied re-appointment.

Each winner of a cash prize may designate a tax-exempt charitable institution to receive the sum to be given in his name equal to the amount of his winning.

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Holloman _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-8-89 BY SP8CST/JS

Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star ☒ _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
N. Y. Daily News _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

Date FEB. 19, 1957

file 100-391697

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: March 1, 1957

FROM : R. R. Roach

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-99 BY 20821J

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
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Belmont	_____
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Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Reference is made to my memorandum to you dated 2/21/57, stating that on 2/19/57 the Fund for the Republic released a partial list of winners in its \$10,000 American Traditions Project, a project designed to collect and publicize instances of the successful application of the Bill of Rights to present-day situations. Additional winners were to be announced at a later date. (100-391697-454)

According to the 2/22/57 issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald," the Fund on that date announced the remaining winners in its American Traditions Project. These winners are identified below, together with any pertinent information contained in Bureau files identifiable with them.

Bureau files fail to reflect any pertinent information concerning [redacted] and [redacted] Ohio, waitresses, and [redacted] Silver Spring, Maryland.

[redacted], of Miami, Florida, member of the Florida State Legislature, has not been investigated by the Bureau. Our files contain cordial correspondence with him in 1950, at which time he expressed admiration for the Director and the work of the Bureau. (94-42627)

ENCLOSURE

[redacted] N. W., Washington, D. C., was the subject of a loyalty-type investigation conducted by Bureau in 1954 on the basis of her acquaintance with David Wahl, alleged member of Communist Party and a Soviet espionage ring in Washington, D. C., in early 1940's. Investigation revealed nothing derogatory regarding her loyalty; however, it was determined that she had a limited professional acquaintanceship with Wahl and that she was emotionally unstable. (140-2141) The Army by letter 11/10/55 for the Bureau's information advised that [redacted] and her husband [redacted] had been under investigation by the Army in Europe (date not specified), for contacts with a suspected Czech espionage agent and

RCY:aw (5)

INDEXED - 34 RECORDED - 34

- 1 - Nichols
- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - section tickler
- 1 - Young

NOTE: * Referenced memorandum contains summaries re prize winners [redacted]. Bufile 121-12554-26 contains recent summary re [redacted]

[redacted] Fund's Board member, who made the awards. Summaries not prepared re [redacted] and [redacted]

[redacted] mentioned in attached article, as they rec'd no awards nor have any known connection with the Fund.

1 MAR 8 1957

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Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

further that [] made attempts to disrupt certain German-U.S. relations in Heidelberg during 1951 and 1952 (no further details available). (105-42062)

b6
b7C

[] of the Lexington (Mississippi) Advertiser," was the subject of complaints received by the Bureau in 1942 regarding alleged un-American attitude. However, our investigation determined this individual was not un-American in sympathies but was severely critical of the Roosevelt Administration. (100-142096) In July, 1954, Smith wrote an editorial criticizing the Holmes County, Mississippi, sheriff for unnecessarily shooting a Negro suspect and for other abuses to Negroes. She was subsequently ordered by the Circuit Court to pay \$10,000 libel damages to the sheriff; however, this decision was reversed by the Mississippi State Supreme Court in November, 1955. The Bureau conducted a preliminary investigation into these alleged abuses in July, 1954; however, further investigation was not authorized by the Department. (44-7805) In September, 1954, [] was reportedly a member of a group of individuals in Holmes County, Mississippi, which allegedly was constantly agitating for the equalization of Negro rights. It is noted that her editorials have been strong in this regard. (44-0-1030)

b6
b7C

ACTION:

None. For your information.

Jul
ASB
gms
AS
✓

Catton Assails U. S. Curb on Information

By Jean White
Staff Reporter

Excessive restrictions on the free flow of Government information were assailed last night among present-day "threats to liberty" by Bruce Catton, writer, editor, and Pulitzer Prize-winning historian.

But the American tradition of freedom has survived threats before, only to emerge stronger and healthier from the attacks, he told an audience at a Fund for the Republic dinner at the Mayflower.

"We are today emerging from the latest of these spasms of terror," Catton added. "We have seen some highly discouraging things in recent years."

Even with the crest of the recent wave of repression now passing, arbitrary censorship both by private and governmental groups still affects a wide area of American life, the historian stressed.

"Still Excessive"

"Government restrictions on the flow of information are still excessive in some agencies," he said. "Much confusion remains in the administration of security measures; some unfair procedures have become institutionalized."

The press, Catton declared, has helped to break through some of the official barriers, and a congressional subcommittee headed by Rep. John E. Moss Jr. (D-Calif.) has spotlighted the secretive practices of certain agencies. Courts

and scientists, he added, also have stood firm to defend individual liberties against recent attacks.

If a short-range view of condition looks ominous, Americans have little reason to be afraid if they look at the present situation long-range, Catton assured his listeners.

"We get waves of reaction in this country, periodically, in times of extreme national stress," the speaker said. "But the waves always pass—with however much incidental injustice and oppression for certain individual victims — because the instinct in the American mind and heart which the tradition is based on is, finally, irrepresible."

Winners Honored

Catton, editor of the American Heritage Magazine and author of "A Stillness at Appomattox" and the recently published "This Hallowed Ground," spoke as the Fund for the Republic honored winners of its "American Traditions" contest.

As a director of the Fund, Catton paid tribute to those cited in the prize-winning letters as present-day Americans who have helped make freedom a real national tradition—"something that we live by rather than something we talk about."

Tradition, the historian said, resides in the hearts of individ-

ual men and women, who strengthen freedom simply by going ahead and living it.

The freedom fighters are found everywhere, Catton told the audience, and pointed to some of the subjects in the letters:

A Florida state legislator whose stand for school integration made him a minority of one, a Seattle (Wash.) housewife who became interested in the case of a carpenter dismissed by the Army on security charges, and a young Oklahoma school teacher who lost his job to make a lone protest against racial discrimination.

'Do What You Feel'

The teacher, Catton said, summed up the spirit that moves Americans who love freedom:

"In a thing like this you don't stop to think. You just do what you feel you have to do."

Prizes totaling \$5000 were awarded to persons writing the best letters about Americans who expressed their love of freedom through deeds. Another \$5000 will be donated to philanthropic organizations designated by the winning letter writers.

The American Traditions project offered prizes of \$2500, \$1000, \$500 and 10 prizes of \$100 to persons writing the best letters.

Guests of honor at the dinner last night were citizens whose acts were described in the letters taking the three top prizes. The subjects of the letters were given citations.

The first citation went to John B. Orr Jr., of Miami, only member of the Florida State Legislature to speak in support of the Supreme Court ruling on school desegregation.

Also honored were Ann Harr and Bessie Dick, Akron (Ohio) waitresses, who helped free a refugee wrongly arrested; Hazel Brannon Smith, editor of the Lexington (Miss.) Advertiser.

Area Recipients

Among area winners were David Koonce, of the Washington Evening Star, who with five other letter writers told the Representative Orr story to share the first prize.

Others honored from the area among \$100 honorable mention citations were:

L. Edgar Prina, of the Star, who told the story of Mary Farquharson, Seattle housewife who helped clear a car-

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Gandy _____

permitted to be used in security charges, State of 3362 N. Dickman St., Arlington, who no Brechner, a radio station Spring for airing all sides of the issue of a banned textbook. Also Dr. Gertrude 2940 28th st. n.w. Korey, 1915 East Silver Spring, wrote about B. Arlington mother and official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who stood her ground against threats after joining as a white parent in the Arlington anti-segregation

Wash. Post and Times Herald 13
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
N. Y. Journal-American _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
N. Y. Daily News _____
N. Y. Times _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

Date _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-3-89 BY 8073/108

71 MAR 8 1957

ENCLOSURE

file 100-311671

NEWS and BOOKS of BOOKS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-9-99 BY SP2 BJS/jas

THE VIKING PRESS, Publishers



625 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

FEBRUARY 21

IN CANADA FROM THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA, LIMITED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Nease
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Key Volume in Major Survey of American Communism Due Next Mo

In 1955 The Fund for the Republic, whose purpose is to eliminate restrictions on freedom of speech and inquiry and to promote principles of constitutional liberty, announced a quarter-million-dollar project for an over-all survey of the influence of communism in American life. Under the general editorship of Clinton Rossiter (The American Presidency and other books), this will take the form of a series of independent books covering both the history of the Communist party down to the present and its success and failure in the separate areas of literature, mass media, art, the social structure, education, government and politics, opinion-forming groups, and religion.

The first and key volume in the series -- one that has been in the making for several years -- is THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM by Theodore Draper, to be published by Viking on March 11th. It is a definitive history of the American party from its sources in nineteenth-century radical movements through its founding in 1919 to its emergence as a legal entity in the nineteen-twenties. Mr. Draper's prodigious research has unearthed source materials -- both from living people and rare documents -- which would otherwise be completely inaccessible to the general reader and, for that matter, to most scholars, too. In the course of this exhaustive study, the author traces the native and foreign strains that went into the party, its structure and operation, its shifting policies and factional differences, its secret as well as its open activities. He discloses, moreover, the pattern that has persisted throughout its native existence, and makes unmistakably clear how in its infancy the party "was transformed from a new expression of American radicalism to the American appendage of a Russian revolutionary power."

Journalist, trained historical scholar, author of The Six Weeks War and The 84th Infantry Division in the Battle of Germany, Draper provides material for Hitchcock thrillers in his accounts of the underground days and of spies and counterspies. Also included are life stories of the individual leaders of the movement -- Foster, Browder, Fraina (Lewis Corey), John Reed, and others.

NOT RECORDED

6 MAR 7 1957

64 MAR 8 1957

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64 MAR 21

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman *3-15-57*

DATE: March 11, 1957

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont *ank*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Boardman ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mason ☐
 Mohr ☐
 Parsons ☐
 Rosen ☐
 Tamm ☐
 Nease ☐
 Winterrowd ☐
 Tele. Room ☐
 Holloman ☐
 Gandy ☐

Pursuant to the Director's request, Bufiles have been reviewed concerning [redacted] of Boston, Massachusetts, and Dr. Henry P. VanDusen of New York City, who are newly elected members to the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic. *Summary*

[redacted] has not been the subject of any Bureau investigation. Our files reflect that as of March, 1956, (last available date) he was the editor of [redacted]

[redacted] with whom we have had cordial relations in the past. Since 1949 the Bureau has written the newspaper and [redacted] numerous letters in appreciation for the editorials appearing in the paper which have praised the Director and the work of the FBI. (94-36738) *Roach*

Dr. Henry P. (Pitney) VanDusen, a Presbyterian minister and president of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, since 1945, has not been investigated by the Bureau. However, Bufiles reflect that in 1930 and 1933 VanDusen traveled to Russia and Europe with an American seminar group under the auspices of the Open Road, Inc., cited as a communist front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities. A leaflet published in 1949 by the American Council of Christian Laymen, Madison, Wisconsin, listed VanDusen under a heading entitled "Federal Council Leaders Who Have Helped Communist Organizations." This leaflet further reflected that VanDusen was affiliated with the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, an organization designated by the Attorney General. VanDusen, in 1949, reportedly was a member of the Chinese Students Christian Association of North America, described by an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past as being dominated and led by the procommunists during 1949-1951. In 1941 VanDusen reportedly was a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations, cited as a "vehicle used by the communists to orientate American far eastern policies toward communist objectives." In the Senate Judiciary Committee, July, 1952, report. (100-79259; 62-80527-43301) *Summary*

ACTION:

This is for the Director's information.

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
 1 - Mr. Boardman
 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. Roach
 1 - Mr. Young

PCY:kds/awj (6)

51 MAR 22 1957

RECORDED - 84
INDEXED - 84100-397677-456
3 MAR 15 1957

EX-107

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8-83 BY 2081 JES/JSJ

234487

Tolson ☒
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 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

Fund for Republic Names New Directors

NEW YORK, March 7 (AP) — The election of three new members to the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic was announced today.

They are: Former Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, of New York; The Very Rev. Msgr. Francis Joseph Lally, of Boston, and Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, of New York.

What do files show on [redacted] Van Dusen?

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RECORDED

4-8-53 234-267

Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
 Wash. News _____
 Wash. Star _____
 N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
 N. Y. Journal-American _____
 N. Y. Mirror _____
 N. Y. Daily News _____
 N. Y. Times _____
 Daily Worker _____
 The Worker _____
 New Leader _____

Date _____

file 100-311517

Mr. Nichols

April 8, 1957

M. A. Jones

JOHN COGLEY
AUTHOR OF THE BLACKLISTING REPORT
IN ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY FOR THE
FORD FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-8-89 BY 25251708

SYNOPSIS:

Director's article, "The Confidential Nature of FBI Reports," in Fall, 1956 issue of "Syracuse Law Review" mentioned a author, who had written a publication pertaining to blacklisting in entertainment industry and who refused to divulge identities of his informants while the tax-exempt foundation of which he was writing berated the concept of placing credence in information received by the Government from informants. Letter dated 4-5-57 now received from Cogley who states that he is that author of the publication for the Ford Fund for the Republic. (FFR) His letter deals with his refusal to name anonymous sources when questioned 7-10-56 before House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) when the committee was investigating the blacklisting report. Primarily his letter objects to the "Syracuse Law Review" article, and he claims there is no parallel between an author's refusal to name informants and the Government's use of informants. He accuses the Director of confusing these issues but sets forth no sound argument in his contention. He states an author is subject to public opinion, which can accept or reject him or his work, while a Government official is not a private citizen but is acting in the name of the people to promote justice and the general welfare by the law of the land and oath of office. Cogley has aired these views publicly before, and the Director noted on one occasion "Yet they howl when confidential sources are used to ferret out traitors! H." and "Yet the same outfit howls to high Heavens about the FBI insisting on protecting identity of its informers. H." Cogley asks for the Director's views on the subject. The blacklisting report, of course, was another FFR publication down the communist line which drew praise from the "Daily Worker." (Cogley was assisted by a Security Index subject in preparing it.) Cogley's propensity for slanted material, his ridiculous argument and his record of misstatement and twisting of facts would suggest that we should not dignify his letter by reply since no purpose would be served, and he might possibly misuse such a letter.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Cogley's letter not be dignified by a reply.

100-391697-
NOT RECORDED
102 APR 16 1957

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Ford for the Republic

CEM:bh:grs

(10)

Concur
7

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

April 8, 1956

DETAILS:

The Fall, 1956, issue of the Syracuse Law Review carried the Director's article, "The Confidential Nature of FBI Reports." On pages 7-8, this article refers to the Ford Fund for the Republic and John Cogley as follows:

The person who blindly attacks law enforcement's use of informants would be well advised to whisper his criticisms in an empty room unless he delights in being exposed as a hypocrite. Witness, for example, the ridiculously indefensible position in which a tax-exempt foundation found itself last summer. This foundation, which has berated the concept of placing credence in information received by the Government from informants, issued a publication dealing with alleged 'blacklisting' practices in the entertainment industry. When called upon by a committee of the House of Representatives, the author of this publication refused to disclose the anonymous sources of his information. Although the author obviously was far less capable than law enforcement agencies in confirming or discrediting information received, he offered the information supplied by the informant consumption.

We have now received a letter dated April 4, 1956, from John Cogley in which he refers to the above as "unflattering" and refers to his testimony before HCUA on 7/10/56 and concludes that he is absolutely correct in not identifying his confidential informants. (1) he was "very dubious about the propriety of the whole business." A journalist has no authority other than his own word... writers are not to civil authority for what they write, within the laws of decency, etc. He then goes on to say that "the parallel between the FBI's use of informants and a journalist's limps badly." He states an author is subject to public opinion and can accept or reject him or his work. He says a Government official is no more private citizen when he is acting officially, adding the Government acts in the name of the people and is charged not only by his own conscience but by the law itself and his oath of office. He also states that the private citizen's relationship to the State is the immunity from interference on the part of the Government which is spelled out in the First Amendment.

Cogley states the informant involved should not be permitted to use name of Governmental or semi-governmental organization supplied by such informants.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

April 8, 1957

author to defend what he has written; and if a Governmental body does so, should an author be obliged to name his sources and informants? Cogley states that he feels the Director has confused these issues and states he would like to have the Director's views.

BACKGROUND:

Cogley was chosen by the FFR to coordinate and write a two-volume treatise on blacklisting in the entertainment industry. The publication pertains to Communist Party members, fellow travelers and those who sought protection behind Fifth Amendment and their inability to obtain employment in the entertainment field because of a blacklisting.

This report, of course, was straight down the Communist Party line and was hailed by the Communist Party's "Daily Worker." HCUA was looking into the report since it appeared to be one in defense of communist fellow travelers and Fifth Amendment takers.

The publication uses names such as George Sokolsky, Victor Riesel and Frederick Weltman, Scripps-Howard columnist, as being powers on a "clearance" board who had to be contacted by the blacklisted individuals before they could obtain or retain jobs in entertainment. These three gentlemen, of course, labeled the accusation as false.

Cogley and his "blacklisting report" have been subjected to a criticism. For example, an editorial in the "Washington News" on July 13, described the report as "a fraud conceived in poolhall morality and executed with grossly questionable scholarship." It states that testimony before HCUA "exposes the Fund's report as a shabby caggle of distortions, essential untruths and calculated omissions."

Cogley previously has aired his views concerning the so-called distinction between the protection of authors' anonymous sources and the use of informants by the Government and on one occasion said, "I don't think it is right for an elected representative of the people to call a man before the committee and ask him to reveal confidential sources of information. The answer is far more important than the Ford Fund for the Republic or John Cogley." To this he added: "Yet they howl when confidential sources are used to ferret out traitors." In a letter to the editor dated August 10, 1956, Cogley defended his refusal to use anonymous sources and said, "I was prepared to go to jail to keep the promises made." To this the Director replied: "Yet the need to keep the promises made is to high even about the FBI insisting on..."

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

April 8, 1957

OBSERVATIONS:

It would seem unnecessary to pursue this further with Cogley since no purpose whatsoever would be served in trying to explain our position to one of his ilk. Further, the blacklisting report itself is evidence enough of his propensity for slanted material. His ridiculous argument and his record of misstatement and twisting of facts would not seem to call for an answer. His argument on the parallel of the use of informants by authors and the Government's use of informantⁱ a wandering sort of objection. His associations and choice of assistants would seem to also indicate we should ignore his letter since one of his assistants in preparing the report was [redacted] a Security Index subject. Also there is the distinct possibility that Cogley would misuse any letter which might be written to him.

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: March 27, 1957

FROM : R. R. ROACH

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
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 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
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 Winterrowd _____
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SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

The FFR on 3/24/57 announced the establishment of a five man Commission to promote better understanding of the rights and responsibilities of the American Indian to be headed by O. Meredith Wilson, President of the University of Oregon. (This apparently is the Commission on Rights and Liberties of American Indians for which the FFR authorized \$100,000 on 9/15/55.) Additional members of this Commission, together with information contained in Bufiles concerning them, are identified below. ("Daily Worker," 3/25/57; 100-391697-A)

Charles A. (Arthur) Sprague, since 1939 publisher of the "Oregon Statesman," Salem, Oregon, newspaper, and O. (Owen) Meredith Wilson, since 1953 President of the University of Oregon, have been the subject of applicant-type investigations conducted by the Bureau during 1953 and 1951, respectively. [redacted] vice president and general manager of [redacted] and chief of the [redacted] Nation, was the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by the Bureau during 1952. None of these investigations revealed any derogatory information. Bureau files fail to reflect any pertinent information concerning these individuals subsequent to the investigations other than to indicate that Keeler and his family were given a special tour of the Bureau on 8/21/52 at the request of the Secretary of Interior, Oscar Chapman. (77-58964; 123-9658; 116-298454; 94-2-28169)

Karl Nickerson Llewellyn, Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Chicago, since 1951 was the subject of a security-type investigation conducted by the Bureau during 1952 and 1953. Investigation revealed that from 1936 to 1951 he had been associated as a member or supporter of a number of cited communist front organizations, such as the National Lawyers Guild, League for Mutual Aid, and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. In December, 1948, he was the signer of a letter sponsored by the Communist Party and addressed to President Truman recommending certain civil rights legislation. In November, 1951, and again in August, 1952, Llewellyn during interview with Bureau Agents was critical of Bureau investigations, particularly re loyalty inquiries. He was placed on the Bureau's list of persons not to be contacted. On 2/11/54 he again criticized Bureau investigations during interview with Army Intelligence. (100-388288; 123-12386-27; 77-53975-1)

cc: vep (5), rep
 1 - Mr. Nichols
 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Section
 1 - Mr. Young

RECORDED-82

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

INDEXED-82

DATE 8-2-89 BY SP8 BJA/ab

14 MAR 29 1957

100-391697
 67 APR 2 1957

100-391697-457

Memorandum Roach to Belmont
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

Arthur M. (Meier) Schlesinger, Sr., associated with Harvard University since 1924 and now Professor Emeritus of History, has not been investigated by the Bureau. Our files, however, show that from 1933 to 1946 he was associated as a sponsor or supporter with a number of cited communist front organizations, such as the American Youth for Democracy, the Civil Rights Congress, and the Young Communist League. In addition, Bufiles reflect that in 1943 Schlesinger signed a petition against the Dies Committee (House Committee on Un-American Activities). (100-390895)

ACTION:

None. For your information. ✓

AB
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Hm

Tolson _____
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STUDY OF INDIANS MAPPED BY FUND FOR REPUBLIC

Establishment of a five man Commission to promote better understanding of the rights and responsibilities of the American Indian was announced yesterday by Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic. The commission will be headed by O. Meredith Wilson, President of the University of Oregon. Its initial grant from the Fund is \$100,000. Serving with Dr. Wilson on the commission are Charles A. Sprague, publisher of the "Oregon Statesman," Karl Llewellyn, Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Chicago; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., Professor Emeritus of History, Harvard University, and W. W. Keeter, vice-president and general manager of Phillips Petroleum and Chief of the Cherokee Nation. The commission will study inquiries: The governments of Indian tribes and groups.

- Changes in policy of the U.S. toward Indians in the last quarter century. The commission will compare Canadian experience.
- The question of assimilation.
- Tribal economies, including credit facilities, land alienation and federal services.
- Problems of Indians in non-Indian communities; relocation, occupation and economic status, racial and cultural discrimination.
- Indian health, welfare and education.

Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
 Wash. News _____
 Wash. Star _____
 N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
 N. Y. Journal-American _____
 N. Y. Mirror _____
 N. Y. Daily News _____
 N. Y. Times _____
 Daily Worker 7 _____
 The Worker _____
 New Leader _____

Date 3-25-57

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8-3-89 BY SP3 STJ/alg

file 100-391697

1 - Sec
1 - R.
1 - P. C. Young
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Nichols

1 - Mr. Boardman
2 - Original & copy
1 - Yellow file copy

April 16, 1957

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

The monograph entitled The Fund for the Republic, Inc., which previously was furnished to you, reflected that, in 1955, that organization had undertaken to sponsor a project which was designed to provide a history of the communist movement in the United States.

The book, The Roots of American Communism, written by Theodore Draper and published by the Viking Press in 1957, is the first of a series of studies to be issued in conjunction with that project.

I thought you might be interested in a review of this book and am enclosing an analysis of it for your information.

Enclosure

CDB:hem/mlf

(13)

1 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General
(With Enclosure)

1 - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins
(With Enclosure)

1 - Assistant Attorney General
Warren Olney III
(With Enclosure)

1 - Assistant Attorney General
[Redacted]
(With Enclosure)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-3-89 BY 4588 BJD/ab

RECORDED-32

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Tolson _____
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Mohr _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
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Memorandum W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont dated April 10, 1957. CDB:hem

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

March 8, 1957

Attached is the book entitled "The Roots of American Communism" by Theodore Draper, sent to the Director from The Viking Press, Inc., 625 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York.

Material relating to the Bureau appears on pages 182, 296, and 366-372.

According to the jacket of the book, Draper had already been at work on this book when the Fund for the Republic announced in 1955 its large-scale project for an over-all survey of the influence of communism in American life. Draper joined the project on a full-time basis and his book has become the key volume in a series of independent books, under the general editorship of Clinton Rossiter, that will result from this survey. It further states that in a later volume, due in 1958, Draper himself will carry the subsequent history of the party up to 1945.

Book detached

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Boardman ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Parsons ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tamm ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Mr. Jones ✓
Mr. Nease ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Holloman ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-8-89 BY 60333/ag

INDEXED - 32

APR 26 1957

67 MAY 2 1957

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *ah*DATE: March 21, 1957 *84-11/10/57*FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM (Published 1957)
 By Theodore Draper
 Internal Security-C

Tolson ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Boardman ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mason ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Parsons ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tamm ☒
 Nease ☒
 Winterrowd ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holloman ☒
 Gandy ☒

SYNOPSIS

The Roots of American Communism, a book issued as first of series in project conducted by Ford Fund for the Republic to assess influence of communism in United States was reviewed by Central Research Section. Published by the Viking Press, New York (on which Bureau indices have no pertinent data)-the book traces the historical development of communist movement from 1848 through 1923 and attempts to explain why movement became an appendage of Soviet revolutionary power.

As an assessment of the beginnings of communism in this country, the enclosed book is inadequate, because it:

- (1) fails to expose the illogical concepts of Marxism,
- (2) minimizes the influence of Marxism in early communist movement,
- (3) depicts communism originally as outgrowth of "American" radicalism,
- (4) divorces Marxism from Leninism, and
- (5) minimizes threat of communist infiltration of American labor movement

As a result, the book amounts to:

- (1) a scathing indictment of Leninism, and
- (2) an implied affirmation of Marxism

Enclosure — Book Detached *++*

CDB:let
 (5) *538*

- 1 - Mr. Brennan
 1 - Section Tiekler
 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. Nichols (detached)

RECORDED-32

28 - INDEXED

100-391627-460

5 APR 20 1957

*Book detached and
 filed in Bureau
 Library 4-25-57
 (288)*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8-28-81 BY 3881 JLD

58 MAY 7 1957

5-3-57

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

Re: The Fund for the Republic
The Roots of American Communism
By Theodore Draper
Internal Security-C

The affirmation of Marxism is implied by author's claims that:

- (1) much clearer thinking about communism would have resulted if "American" radicals had not overemphasized success of Russian revolution of 1917, and that
- (2) ideas of Frederick Engels are still valuable for consideration

Much of the inadequacy of the book stems from the author's failure to use an unbiased approach, as evidenced by:

- (1) implication that development of Marxism in United States was hampered by misinterpretations of Marxism, and his
- (2) unqualified assertion that activities of Government agents in investigations of revolutionary movements are generally as wild as those of wildest revolutionaries

The book does serve to prove that:

- (1) the communist movement in United States is subservient to Moscow,
- (2) communists have long sought to conceal advocacy of force and violence,
- (3) adherents of communism are completely unprincipled, and
- (4) the Party's recent claim of independence was a tactical maneuver

The book makes no mention of the Director, and the FBI is mentioned specifically as such only on page 296 in a non-derogatory manner. In discussions of the activities of the forerunner of the FBI, the Bureau of Investigation, author is guilty of unscholarly fault of not verifying all verifiable facts as shown by mention of former Bureau employee, Jacob Spolansky, who is described as having been head of our Chicago office.

The author of the book is Theodore Draper, born Theodore Dubinsky, a self-announced "fellow traveler" until 1941, and a former employee of several

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

Re: The Fund for the Republic
The Roots of American Communism
By Theodore Draper
Internal Security-C

communist publications during 1930's. Bureau has conducted no investigation of Draper. During contacts in 1954 he was cooperative, but subsequently uncooperative and no further contacts have been made.

Draper's book was edited by Clinton L. Rossiter II, a professor at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, who is project director of the series of studies being conducted by the Ford Fund for the Republic on the influence of communism in American life. Bureau files reflect Rossiter has had previous communist associations and established the procedure of using former communists as sources of information in the project of which he is director.

In short, the book would seem to indicate that past criticisms of Fund for the Republic are justified; namely, that its activities appear to be based on assumption that Communist Party is not a dangerous threat to our security and, thus, Fund indirectly aids aims and purposes of communists.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this review be forwarded to Mr. Nichols for his information.

[Handwritten signatures and initials: "H. P. Brown", "J. H. B.", "V.", and "A."]

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: The Fund for the Republic
The Roots of American Communism
By Theodore Draper
Internal Security-C

DETAILS

The Central Research Section reviewed the book The Roots of American Communism, which was written by Theodore Draper, published by The Viking Press (on which Bureau indices contain no pertinent data), edited by Clinton Rossiter under the sponsorship of the Ford Fund for the Republic, and issued as the first in a series of studies designed "to assess the influence of communism in American life."

Purpose and Source Material

As the first of the proposed series, this book attempts to trace the historical development of the communist movement in the United States during the period 1848 to 1923 and interlock that historical phase with an explanation of the forces that directed the development of the movement into the position which it occupied in 1923. To compile material for the book, the author gathered, among his other sources, an imposing array of old communist documents, conducted interviews with former communists, and utilized material from the writings of communists.

Failure to Tell the Whole Truth

The most significant conclusion that can be reached after reviewing the book is the truth of the author's statement in the first sentence of the introduction of the book, wherein he declares that "It is possible to say many true things about the Communist movement and yet not the whole truth." The failure of the book to reveal the "whole truth" about the development of communism in the United States makes the book inadequate.

Telling the "whole truth" of the communist movement in the United States necessitates exposing the fraudulent basis out of which it developed - the

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

Re: The Fund for the Republic
The Roots of American Communism
By Theodore Draper
Internal Security-C

so-called "scientific socialism" of Karl Marx. This book fails to do that. In fact, its failure to do so amounts to a reaffirmation of Marxism, because the author separates Marxism from Leninism and presents a scathing indictment of the latter. The failure to treat Marxism in the same way would seem to imply tacit approval of at least some propositions formulated by Marx.

A Biased Approach

This book reveals the difficulties encountered when former adherents of communism attempt to assess the movement. Treatment of subject matter of this nature demands a completely unbiased and objective approach. That the author failed to present an unbiased analysis is evidenced by his implication that the development of communism in this country was hampered by misinterpretations of the basic propositions of Marx and his unqualified assertion that the activities of Government agents investigating revolutionary movements are generally as wild as those of the wildest revolutionaries.

Communism Presented as Outgrowth of American Radicalism

While attacking the atrocity and terror which has become synonymous with the system developed in the Soviet Union under communist leaders since the time of Lenin, the author lays the groundwork for the claim that the development of communism in the United States stems basically from an American movement which was diverted into becoming an appendage of the Soviet revolutionary system through overemphasis on the success of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

False Conclusion Can Be Drawn

Although the author does not state the conclusion, an inference can be drawn from his book that communism, formed and developed in accordance with the basic propositions of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, merits consideration for use in the future growth of American life. This is evidenced further in the author's implication that communism is not a threat to the American labor movement.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: The Fund for the Republic
 The Roots of American Communism
 By Theodore Draper
 Internal Security-C

Valuable Attributes of Book

This book does have some valuable attributes. In effect, it serves (1) to expose the complete, subservient allegiance of the Communist Party, USA, to the Soviet Union, (2) to reveal the efforts of communists to avoid prosecution by concealing their determination to use force and violence as a means of overthrowing our Government, (3) to disclose the deceit, distortion, and hate that characterizes the dealings of communists not only with noncommunists but with other communists as well, and (4) to unwittingly provide material which proves that the present tactics of the Communist Party, USA, in claiming that it has severed ties with Moscow are based on teachings advocated by leaders of the world communist movement seventy years ago.

Necessity of Refuting Marxism

On the first page of the first chapter of this book, the author points out that "the first Marxian Socialists in the United States were German immigrants who came over after the ill-fated German revolution of 1848." Authorities generally agree that modern socialism dates from the publication of the Communist Manifesto in 1848, which gave birth to the so-called "scientific socialism" of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The author traces the development of the communist movement in this country from that point without any effort to explain, as one philosopher has, that "communism offers a complete philosophical system which must be refuted before its revolutionary objectives can rightfully be challenged." The great inadequacy of the book is centered on this point, because in discussing communism, as another philosopher has warned, "if you accept its basically false first assumption, there is no stopping its conclusions, just as if you grant two plus two equals five, then you must grant all erroneous multiples based on that initial mistake." (Charles J. McFadden, The Philosophy of Communism, New York, Benzinger Brothers, Inc., 1939, pp. x, xvi)

Marxism and Leninism Divorced

In his examination of the early origins of the American communist movement, the author traces the history of all of the important, conflicting

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: The Fund for the Republic
The Root of American Communism
By Theodore Draper
Internal Security-C

organizations which contributed to the ebb and flow of the movement until 1917, when the Russian Revolution acted as a catalyst to solidify the forces of the "American Left Wing" and shape those forces in the image of the Russian Bolsheviks. At that point, the author divorces Marxism and Leninism. He states that under Lenin the Soviet regime became "an intellectual jungle in which all Communists had lost their way." He explains that Lenin had led his followers into a "Marxist cul-de-sac" and, as a result, had to improvise a new program for the new direction of the world communist movement. (p. 250)

Attack on Leninism

With Marxism thus divorced from Leninism, the author describes Leninism as "one of the cruelest deceptions and self-deceptions in history," because the peaceful, utopian promises of Lenin were made a shambles by the terror and atrocity that developed under the Soviet system established in Russia. However, although the author condemns the Soviet system by stating that "there is no more scathing critique of the Soviet reality than the Bolshevik promises," by describing those promises as those of Bolsheviks and attributing them to Lenin and his followers, the author again absolves Marx and Engels of having fostered the false doctrine which gave rise to the communist movement. In addition, the author ignores the fact that very competent philosophers who have made an analysis of the communist movement detect no difference in the basic ideas of Marxism and Leninism, but see in them a single, coherent system. (Draper, p. 108) (McFadden, op. cit., pp. xviii, xix)

Implied Acceptance of Marxism

The author's implied acceptance of the validity of Marxism is evidenced in the explanations he offers as to the reasons for the conflicts between various organizations on the American scene in the latter half of the nineteenth century. For example, speaking of the conflicts between Samuel Gompers, leader of the American Federation of Labor, and leaders of various socialist groups, the

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont

Re: The Funds for the Republic
The Roots of American Communism
By Theodore Draper
Internal Security-C

author states that "what separated Gompers from the Socialists was the difference in their interpretations of material interest, not the basic proposition itself." He adds that "whatever success Gompers had, and the Socialists did not have, was scarcely a repudiation of the Marxist emphasis on material interests." The author then concludes with the statement that "it might have indicated the need for American Marxists to take their materialism a little more materialistically." (Draper, p. 29)

Significant Conclusion Overlooked

A completely unbiased and objective approach is a major prerequisite for any analysis. However, in this book, the author appears to lapse into the role of an apologist at times, apparently seeking, as many former communists writing of the movement do, self-justification for his own intellectual involvement in the movement. He explores, for example, the part played by John Reed as a leader in the communist movement years ago, and offers it as evidence that "Communism was more than a movement of social outcasts if it could attract someone like Reed." The author justifies his use of Reed as an example by offering the observation that "a movement capable of converting Reed had potentialities which cannot be too simply dismissed with a formula." That is a valid observation. Communism is too dangerous to dismiss with a formula. The author, however, misses the significant conclusion that should have been drawn. Using Reed as an example of how even men of intellect become ensnared in the web of communism, he should have cited the vital necessity of exposing communism at the core so that all might see the truly illogical basis on which it has been formulated. (Draper, p. 117, 121)

Unqualified Assertion Concerning Government Investigations

The author's former adherence to communism reveals itself again in his discussion of the investigation and handling of subversive activities by Government agents. The author takes several cases from the period 1919-1920,

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: The Fund for the Republic
The Roots of American Communism
By Theodore Draper
Internal Security-C

presents them in a ridiculous and ludicrous manner, and proceeds to draw a plain, unqualified conclusion that "it seems to be a general rule in revolutionary movements that government agents behave like "'agitators' of the wildest type." "The author fails to make any mention of the highly principled procedures of law enforcement which have evolved through the years in this country as contrasted to the loathsome system which evolved in communist countries. He neglects to contrast the police system of a democracy which works in conjunction with the courts to assure all men, even those engaged in efforts to destroy our Government, a just hearing, as compared with the secret police systems of communist regimes which possess the power to arrest, try, and execute in a single function. (Draper, pp. 226, 232)

Minimizes Influence of Marxism

The author attempts to minimize the influence of Marxism on the development of the communist movement in the United States by stating that "the founders of Marxism were complex enough to plant in their own work the seeds for most of the schisms that have taken place in their name." The truth is that Marxism was complex enough to have fostered a variety of groups with varying interpretations of its application, as is evidenced in the book. (Draper, p. 26)

Incorrect Conclusion

The author offers his history of the various groups that existed during the last half of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century as proof that it was "a new expression of American radicalism" developing. Consistent with the author's implied theory that the evil of communism stems not from Marxism, but from Leninism, is his explanation that this "new expression of American radicalism" was transformed into an "American appendage of a Russian Revolution of 1917. It is more correct than incorrect to state that the American communist movement was transformed from a new expression of American radicalism based on Marxism to the American appendage of a Russian revolutionary power. (Draper, p. 395)

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By Theodore Draper
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Communists Capitalize on Book

How gratifying the author's conclusion is to American communists is revealed in their efforts to use it to substantiate their claims that the Communist Party, USA, is an American organization. The east coast communist newspaper, the Daily Worker, contained a review of the author's book on March 13, 1957, which stated in part that "what Draper does do in his book... is to present the American roots of the American Communist Party." (Draper, p. 375) (Daily Worker, 3/13/57, p. 6)

Presenting Marxism Favorably

It is possible to infer from the author's presentation that communism has attributes that merit consideration for use in the United States. Referring to a trip which Frederick Engels made to the United States and Canada in 1888, for example, the author states that Engels "was able to make a quite extensive and detailed analysis of the special problems of the American movement, and one that can still be studied with profit more than a half-century later." In fact, the author seems to border on the verge of regret for a lost dream, when he states that "there would have been much clearer thinking about the nature of communism if less attention had been paid to the Russian Revolution of 1917." (Draper, pp. 25-352)

Minimizing Threat of Communist Penetration of American Labor Movement

At the same time, the author minimizes the threat of the infiltration of communists into the American labor movement by implication when he states that:

"In Left Wing dualism, two words were invariably linked - "revolutionary" and "industrial." This tradition enabled the A. F. of L. to fight industrial unionism as if it were a revolutionary plot. It enabled the Left Wing to use the popular appeal of industrial unionism to advance its revolutionary aims. But when industrial unionism finally came to the American labor movement in the 1930's, it required no revolution, and eventually the A. F. of L. made peace with it." (Draper, p. 20)

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What the author fails to point out is that the American Federation of Labor waited nearly twenty years to make peace with industrial unionism. It only did so after the organized industrial unions purged themselves of more than ten affiliate unions which the leaders of industrial unionism themselves found to be so infested with communists as to be able to dominate those unions and subvert their activities entirely to support of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union to the detriment of that of the United States.

Book Proves Allegiance of Communist Party to Russia

The author is able to offer convincing proof that the Communist Party of the United States allied itself with the Soviet Union from the very origin of its existence as it stands today. Noteworthy among the items of proof offered by the author in this respect is his inclusion of the following:

"...In 1930, William Z. Foster was asked, 'Now, if I understand you, the workers in this country look upon the Soviet Union as their country; is that right?' And Foster, reflecting the training of the older generation of Communist leaders, answered without hesitation, 'The more advanced workers do.' " (Draper, p. 265)

The significance of this becomes apparent when it is realized that William Z. Foster is still a dominant leader of the Communist Party in the United States today.

Efforts to Conceal Advocacy of Force and Violence Exposed

Another blow is struck by the author at the Communist Party's latest claims that it disavows the belief of the necessity of using force and violence to achieve the transition to communism in this country. As the author points out, as far back as 1922 leaders of the Party realized the necessity of making such claims for tactical reasons in their efforts to avoid prosecution. For example, the author cites several Party leaders at that time who believed explicitly in the necessity and inevitability of resorting to force and violence to overthrow capitalism, but who cautioned followers, as did one, not "to shout it from the housetops here, there, everywhere; now, tomorrow, anytime," pointing out that "when the open existence of the Communist party is at stake, then the insistence on this phrase is little short of lunacy." Another Party leader of that era is quoted by the author to the effect that "it is not necessary to write our program in language best suited to prosecutors." With these warnings to all Party members, the author reveals, Party leaders in 1922 instituted "the transition from open espousal of the inevitability of violence to a more guarded, implicit understanding of the same principle." (Draper, pp. 354, 355)

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By Theodore Draper
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Author Unwillingly Exposes Party's 1957 Claim of Independence

The author also unwittingly provides material which adds to the evidence that the recent claim of the Communist Party, USA, that it had severed ties with Moscow and intended to interpret Marxism-Leninism in accordance with American conditions is nothing more than a tactical maneuver based on the teachings of the original founders of the American communist movement. The author quotes, for instance, from several letters written by Frederick Engels to leaders of the communist movement in the United States seventy years ago emphasizing the course of action to be followed in the development of communism in this country. In one letter, Engels stated that "our theory is a theory of evolution, not a dogma to be learnt by heart and to be repeated mechanically." In another letter he added that "the masses are to be set in motion only along the road that fits each country and the prevailing circumstances, which is usually a roundabout road." (Draper, p. 26) (Verified in original source, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Letters to Americans 1848-1895, International Publishers, 1953, pp. 168, 192)

Unprincipled Activities

The most convincing conclusion that can be drawn from the author's book is one that he neglects because of his failure to expose the fraud of Marxism. The book convincingly illustrates that Marxism breeds hate, fear, distrust, deceit, and dissension not only between communists and noncommunists, but also between communists themselves. If the author had shown that the American communist movement stems so greatly from the influence of Marx and then revealed the illogical basis of Marxism, it would be possible to understand the motivation for the corrupt practices of communists. As a noted philosopher has explained it, instead of devising a system to fit the needs of man, Marx devised a system and attempted to fit man into it. As a result, followers of Marx inevitably end in conflict with each other as well as with others. The author's book concretely illustrates the conflict inherent in Marxism, but in failing to expose its basic illogical concepts, the author fails to show that it is those concepts which account for the completely unprincipled behavior of the communists whose lives he explores. (McFadden, op. cit., pp. 329, 330)

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Unscholarly Handling of Material

The Roots of American Communism contains an imposing array of source material; however, the book serves to show that the inclusion of such material does not prove, per se, the validity of an author's presentation. On the contrary, it often reveals, as in this case, that an author has been guilty of the unscholarly fault of failing to verify all the facts which he obtained from that source material and on which he based his presentation.

In the introduction to the book, the author pointed out the difficulty of establishing the truth of any particular historical incident which has been related in contradictory terms by various participants, especially when there is no official means of verifying the facts. However, the author is expected to verify facts which are subject to verification and which he deems important enough for use. Haphazard handling of verifiable facts creates doubt concerning the author's ability to use good judgment in handling contradictory and unverifiable information.

Facts Not Verified

The author's mishandling of verifiable information is revealed in The Roots of American Communism, for example, in the manner in which he recounts the experiences of Government agents involved in investigations of subversive activities in and around 1919. One individual who plays a prominent role in the author's presentation of those investigations, Jacob Spolansky, is described as the head of the Chicago office of the Bureau of Investigation, identified as the forerunner of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Spolansky is afforded that title throughout the book, including the description of his activities at a meeting in Chicago in September, 1919, when the present Communist Party originated. The truth is that Spolansky never was in charge of any office of the Bureau of Investigation during his short career in the organization, and, at the time of the communist meeting in Chicago in September, 1919, Spolansky had been an employee, not even in the capacity of an agent, of the Bureau of Investigation for less than sixty days. (Draper, pp. 182, 368) (67-1989-20)

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The author's lapse in misrepresenting Spolansky's position stems from his acceptance of Spolansky's claims in a book written by him. Nevertheless, the facts were subject to verification due to the existence of official records. If the author had checked and found that Spolansky misrepresented even the simple fact of the nature of his position, he might have had cause to wonder how much of the other material which he used from Spolansky's book was true. Similarly, the question arises as to how many other times the author was victimized by overly dramatized or false claims in the rest of the material which he used. (Jacob Spolansky, The Communist Trail in America, pp. 23-30)

The FBI Mentioned

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is mentioned specifically by the author only in respect to an interview of Louis C. Fraina, an early leader of the communist movement, by Bureau Agents. Information concerning the interview is set out on page 296 and is in no way derogatory to the Bureau.

No Mention of the Director

The book contains no mention of the Director, it being noted that the book deals principally with the period 1848 to and including 1923.

Author's Communist Background

Bureau files reflect that the author of the book, Theodore Draper, was born Theodore Dubinsky in Brooklyn, New York. He was investigated by G-2, Department of the Army, in 1943, while a private in the United States Army. Investigation reflected that he was affiliated with the Communist Party, had been a rewrite man and copy reader for the Daily Worker, east coast communist newspaper, was once employed by the magazine New Masses, which was cited by a Congressional Committee, had been connected with the Russian Tass News Agency, and had received communist literature in the mail while in the Army. The information concerning his communist affiliation and employment is reflected on the book jacket. (100-362227-1)

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Author Uncooperative Recently

Bureau files further reflect that Draper testified before an Executive Session of the Jenner Committee in May, 1954, at which time he stated that he had never been a member of the Communist Party, but had followed the Communist Party line until 1941 and described himself as a "fellow traveler." No investigation of Draper has been conducted by the Bureau. Draper was interviewed by Bureau Agents in August, 1954, concerning his activities, associates, and affiliations with regard to the communist movement and displayed a cooperative attitude. However, in January, 1955, Draper responded to contacts by advising that future interviews would have to be conducted in the presence of his attorney. Inasmuch as Draper's attorney, O. John Rogge, displayed an unfriendly attitude, there have been no further contacts with Draper. (100-362227-8, 13)

Project Director, Clinton L. Rossiter

The Roots of American Communism is the first in a series of studies which the Ford Fund for the Republic announced in 1955 that it was undertaking to assess the influence of communism in American life. This study project was established with Professor Clinton Rossiter, of Cornell University, as the director. Bureau files reflect that Clinton Lawrence Rossiter, II, Cornell University professor, had been disapproved for security clearance following an investigation conducted by another Government agency which conducts intelligence investigations, because in 1953 he gave as a reference a person who had been listed as one of the individuals controlling the American Russian Institute, Hollywood, California. The American Russian Institute has been cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (Monograph: The Fund for the Republic, Inc., pp. 49, 96)

The Cornell Daily Sun, Ithaca, New York, reported an interview in February, 1955, with Professor Clinton L. Rossiter in which he stated that in the survey project he was directing for the Fund for the Republic on communism former communists would be utilized as sources of information, but would not be the only sources used. That this procedure was used in

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preparing The Roots of American Communism is evidenced in the acknowledgements in the book (pp. 459-461) wherein the author expresses his thanks and indebtedness to more than a dozen individuals, the majority of whom, as reflected in Bureau files, have had communist affiliations at one time or another. (Monograph: The Fund for the Republic, Inc., p. 96)

Past Criticism of Fund for Republic Appears Merited

In conclusion, it is to be noted that the Fund for the Republic has been severely criticized in the past by various individuals or groups of individuals primarily on the basis that its activities appear to be based on the assumption that the Communist Party, USA, is not a dangerous threat to the security of the United States, but is merely another political party akin to the Democratic and Republican Parties. As a result, the Fund for the Republic has often been charged with indirectly aiding the aims and purposes of the Communist Party. A careful analysis of the book The Roots of American Communism would seem to indicate that such criticism is merited. (Monograph: The Fund for the Republic, Inc., p. 143)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: March 28, 1957

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
THE ROOT OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM (Published 1957)
BY THEODORE DRAPER
INTERNAL SECURITY - C *Book*

Tolson _____
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 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
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Reference is made to a memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont dated March 21, 1957, with an accompanying review of the above-captioned book.

Mr. Nichols has called me in connection with this book review and, in his judgment, it would be quite proper to disseminate the essence of this book review to the same people who received a copy of the Bureau monograph on The Fund for the Republic. This monograph was disseminated to the following: The Attorney General; Mr. William P. Rogers, Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General William F. Tompkins, Warren Olney III, [redacted] (succeeded in office by [redacted] who would receive recommended summary); and the Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service.

b6
b7C

The monograph on The Fund for the Republic was given by the Liaison Section to the Internal Revenue Service because of tax exclusion matters.

Mr. Nichols points out that a summary review should be presented. It would be halfway between the synopsis and the book review itself which ran to sixteen pages. This summary would be approximately six to eight pages prepared as a blind memorandum. It could be disseminated to the above-captioned persons with a cover memorandum. The summary would contain the very essence of the book with the accent being put upon the defects in the book from the standpoint of national security.

RECOMMENDATION:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-89 BY SP8 BTJ/af

That this summary review be prepared and disseminated as outlined.

WCS:hem/mjh

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- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - P. C. Young
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Nichols

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VIA LIABOR

Date: April 16, 1957

To: Commissioner
Internal Revenue Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington 25, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

The monograph entitled The Fund for the Republic, Inc., which previously was furnished to you, reflected that, in 1956, that organization had undertaken to sponsor a project which was designed to provide a history of the communist movement in the United States.

The book, The Roots of American Communism, written by Theodore Draper and published by the Viking Press in 1957, is the first in a series of studies to be issued in conjunction with that project.

I thought you might be interested in a review of this book and am enclosing an analysis of it for your information.

Enclosure

CDB:hem
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY SP8BJJ/ap

NOTE: Memorandum W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont dated April 10, 1957. CDB:hem

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April 16, 1957

RE: THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM

By

THEODORE DRAPER

Published by Viking Press, 1957

A Project of

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Background

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 8-8-89 BY SP8 D7Jb/p

The Roots of American Communism, which was written by Theodore Draper and published by the Viking Press in 1957, is the first in a series of studies being conducted as part of a project under the sponsorship of The Fund for the Republic, Inc. That project was undertaken in 1955, and it is designed to provide a history of the communist movement in the United States.

As the first book in the proposed series, The Roots of American Communism covers the period from 1848 through 1923. In it, the author attempts to trace the development of the communist movement in this country during that period and examine the various factors which contributed to its development.

Through his presentation of the material, the author identifies communism in this country as a movement which grew out of a "new expression of American radicalism." He concludes with the observation that American communists overemphasized the success of the Russian Revolution in 1917 and, as a result, permitted the "American" movement to be transformed into an appendage of Soviet revolutionary power. (p. 395)

What the Book Proves

The Roots of American Communism offers convincing proof that the Communist Party of the United States openly identified itself at its inception as a revolutionary agent of a foreign government. The book also proves that from the very beginning the members of that party advocated the use of force and violence as a means of overthrowing our Government, but,

CDBrennan:mfl.

(3)

Based on memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont dated April 10, 1957, re captioned matter. CDB:hem

Original to Attorney General; cc's to Asst. AG's Tompkins, Olney, Rice; Deputy AG Rogers.

Original to Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service

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as early as 1922, began attempting to conceal that fact in an effort to avoid prosecution. The book further proves that, from its earliest origin, the communist movement in this country has bred hate, fear, deceit, distrust, and dissension not only between communists and noncommunists, but also between communists themselves.

The Book Is Misleading

As an unbiased, objective analysis of the origin of the communist movement in the United States, The Roots of American Communism is misleading. The most significant conclusion that can be drawn from the book is the truth of the author's statement that "it is possible to say many true things about the American Communist movement and yet not the whole truth." Telling the "whole truth" about the communist movement in this country necessitates exposing the fraudulent nature of its true origin -- the so-called scientific socialism of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. This book fails to do that. In fact, a close analysis of this book reveals that it amounts to an implied affirmation of some of Marx's basic propositions. (p. 3)

The Necessity of Refuting Marxism

The author begins his study of the early origins of the communist movement in the United States with the observation that "the first Marxian Socialists in the United States were German immigrants who came over after the ill-fated German revolution of 1848." "Authorities generally agree that modern socialism dates from the publication of the Communist Manifesto in 1848. It was the Communist Manifesto which gave birth to scientific socialism. However, the author makes no effort to explain, as one noted philosopher has, that "Communism offers a complete philosophical system which must be refuted before its revolutionary objectives can rightfully be challenged." (p. 11) (Charles J. McFadden, O.S.A., Ph.D., The Philosophy of Communism, New York, Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1939, p. XVI)

In any analysis of communism, the failure to expose the fraudulent and illogical nature of the theory on which it is based is dangerous. Another respected philosopher has pointed out that if you accept the basically false first assumption on which communism is based, there is no stopping the conclusions which might be drawn from that assumption. (Fulton J. Sheen, Ph.D., McFadden, Ibid., p. x)

The Implied Affirmation of Marxism

The implied acceptance of Marxism is one of the strongest themes in The Roots of American Communism. It is evidenced, for example, when the author discusses the conflicts between various socialist leaders and Samuel Gompers, one of the founders of the American Federation of Labor. The author declares that "what separated Gompers from the Socialists was the difference in their interpretations of material interest, not the basic proposition itself." He adds that "whatever success Gompers had, and the Socialists did not have, was scarcely a repudiation of the Marxist emphasis on material interests." He then concludes by stating that "it might have indicated the need for American Marxists to take their materialism a little more materialistically." (p. 29)

The author's implied sanction of Marxist thinking is evidenced again in his discussion of Marx's contemporary, Frederick Engels, who helped formulate the Communist Manifesto. The author cites Engels' interest in the development of communism in this country; and, speaking of a trip which Engels made to the United States and Canada in 1888, he states that Engels "was able to make a quite extensive and detailed analysis of the special problems of the American movement, and one that can still be studied with profit more than a half-century later." (p. 25)

As the author presents the case, Marxism in the United States was a victim of misinterpretation. The author's thinking in this respect is evidenced throughout the book and is illustrated by such a statement as that in which he declares that "there would have been much clearer thinking about the nature of communism if less attention had been paid to the Russian Revolution of 1917." (p. 352)

Author Divorces Marxism from Leninism

According to the author, the Russian Revolution of 1917 was the catalyst which solidified the various elements that, up until then, comprised the "American Left Wing." Through overemphasis on the success of that revolution, the author states, communists in the United States allowed themselves to be molded into the image of the Russian Bolsheviks. (p. 106)

The author states that under Lenin the Soviet regime became "an intellectual jungle in which all Communists had lost their way." He explains that Lenin had led his followers into a "Marxist cui-de-sac"*and, as a result, had to improvise a new system for the direction of the world communist movement. Obviously, this idea is consistent with the general theme of the book that Marxism was the victim of misinterpretation, and, in this manner, the author divorces Marxism from Leninism. (p. 250)

An Attack on Leninism

With Marxism divorced from Leninism, the author proceeds to launch a scathing attack on Leninism. He describes Leninism as "one of the cruelest deceptions and self-deceptions in history." He condemns the Soviet system that developed under Lenin by stating that "there is no more scathing critique of the Soviet reality than the Bolshevik promises." But, by describing them as "Bolshevik promises" and attributing them to Lenin and his followers, the author again absolves Marx and Engels of having planted the seeds out of which this monstrous system developed. (p. 108)

The author completely ignores the fact that very competent philosophers who have previously analyzed communism have detected no essential difference in the basic ideas of Marx and Lenin, but see in them a single, coherent system.

Author Ignores Significant Conclusions

Time and again, the unwavering theme of the value of Marxism which dominates the book either obscures the author's conclusions or leads to insignificant ones. He explores, for instance, the part played by John Reed as a leader of the communist movement in this country years ago. He then offers Reed as evidence that "Communism was more than a movement of social outcasts if it could attract someone like Reed." He concludes that "a movement capable of converting Reed had potentialities which cannot be too simply dismissed with a formula." Obviously, communism not only was, but still is, too dangerous to be dismissed with a formula. (p. 117, 121)

The significant conclusion in citing Reed as an example was completely overlooked by the author. Using Reed as an example of how even men of intellect become ensnared in the intricate web of communist philosophy,

*Underlined portion italicized in original.

the author should have stressed the vital necessity of exposing communism at the core so that all might see the truly illogical and false basis of the movement that, today, enslaves some 900, 000, 000 people throughout the world.

Author Minimizes Threat of Communism in Labor

Consistent with the author's theory that so much of the confused thinking about communism stems from early misinterpretations is his implication that the threat of communism in the American labor movement has been overemphasized. He declares, for example:

"In Left Wing dualism, two words were invariably linked - 'revolutionary' and 'industrial.' This tradition enabled the A. F. of L. to fight industrial unionism as if it were a revolutionary plot. It enabled the Left Wing to use the popular appeal of industrial unionism to advance its revolutionary aims. But when industrial unionism finally came to the American labor movement in the 1930s, it required no revolution, and eventually the A. F. of L. made peace with it." (pp. 20, 21)

The author neglects to point out that communists capitalized on the development of industrial unionism in this country to gain a firm foothold in the American labor movement. He fails to qualify his statement to the effect that "eventually the A. F. of L. made peace with it" by adding that the A. F. of L. waited twenty years to make that peace and did so only after the organized industrial unions had purged themselves of more than ten affiliated unions which had become so completely dominated by communists that they were being used largely to support the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Author Ridicules Government Investigations of Communism

The author states, "It seems to be a general rule in revolutionary movements that government agents behave like 'agitators' of the wildest type." Having advanced that assumption, the author proceeds to examine several cases of Government investigations of subversive activities during the period from 1919 to 1923, describes them in a ridiculous and ludicrous manner, and offers them as evidence of his assertion. (p. 226)

The author fails to qualify his assertion concerning Government investigations of that nature in any respect. He makes no mention of the highly principled procedures of law enforcement which have evolved in this country through the years and of the judicial privileges afforded even spies and revolutionaries accused of attempts to destroy our Government. Similarly, he neglects to contrast the democratic system of law enforcement with the systems which have been established in communist-dominated countries where an individual may be arrested, tried, and executed in one simple action.

Author's Source Material Is Questionable

In presenting Government investigations of subversive activities in a ridiculous and ludicrous manner, the author may not have been guilty of a deliberate misrepresentation of facts. It appears that he may have been victimized by his apparent willingness to accept unquestioningly the validity of his source material.

Too often, individuals have attempted to capitalize on small parts which they have played at one time or another in investigations concerning subversive activities by writing of their experiences in a highly dramatic fashion. One typical example of how this resulted in distortions in the author's presentation is shown by his use of material obtained from a book written by Jacob Spolansky, a former Bureau of Investigation employee in the Department of Justice. A representative sample of the style of writing used by Spolansky in recounting his adventures is his statement that "because of my efforts in hunting down Reds, I rapidly became known and feared by Communists throughout the country." Spolansky even characterized himself as having been "in charge of operations for the Midwest in the investigations of subversive activities. Jacob Spolansky, The Communist Trail in America, New York, The MacMillan Company, 1951, pp. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 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2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2

The truth is that Jacob Spolansky was never in charge of any office during his short career in the Bureau of Investigation from 1919 to 1924. As a matter of fact, at the time that the author characterized Spolansky as head of the Chicago office and depicted him taking notes at the meeting in Chicago in September, 1919, when the Communist Party was organized, Spolansky had been employed by the Bureau of Investigation less than sixty days and, at that time, was not even employed in the capacity of an agent.

An Author's Responsibility

In preparing a book, such as The Roots of American Communism, which purports to be a historical and objective chronology of the early development of the communist movement in this country, it is the responsibility of the author to verify all the facts in the source material which he deems worthy of use in his book. As the author pointed out in this book, not all facts are subject to verification; nevertheless, he is expected to verify those that are.

If the author of this book had checked the verifiable fact concerning Spolansky's former position with the Bureau of Investigation and found that Spolansky has misrepresented even that simple fact, the author might have had cause to question the validity of the remainder of the material which he used from Spolansky's book. As a result, the question naturally arises as to how many other times the author was guilty of the unscholarly fault of failing to verify all the source material which he used.

The Unspoken Conclusion in the Book

The Roots of American Communism seems to harbor the unspoken conclusion that communism merits consideration for use in the future growth of our American life. That conclusion must be drawn from the manner in which the author divorces Marxism from Leninism. He presents Leninism as a perversion of Marxism instead of a continuation of it and identifies the communist movement in the United States as an appendage of the Soviet revolutionary system which developed out of Leninism. That line of reasoning, coupled with the author's implied affirmation of some of Marx's basic propositions, as well as his repeated assertions that Marxism was the victim of misinterpretations, must inevitably result in the conclusion that a communist movement formed in accordance with the basic propositions of Marx and Engels and freed of the dominating influence of the Soviet Union would have something of value to contribute to the American way of life.

The Author

The author of The Roots of American Communism, Theodore Draper, was born Theodore Dubinsky in Brooklyn, New York. According to the book jacket, Draper was affiliated with the communist movement for a number of years and served for a time on the staffs of such communist organs as the Daily Worker, the New Masses, and the Tass news agency.

A report issued by The Fund for the Republic in 1955, concerning its programs and projects, reflected that Draper had been hired to write a history of the communist movement in the United States. According to the book jacket, Draper is presently at work for The Fund for the Republic preparing a continuation of this series which will carry the history of the communist movement in this country up to 1945. The second volume of this series is scheduled for publication in 1958.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR A. H. BELMONT *abn*

DATE: April 10, 1957

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Reference is made to enclosed memorandum from W. C. Sullivan to Mr. Belmont dated March 28, 1957, in captioned matter. Referenced memorandum authorizes dissemination of an analysis of a book, The Roots of American Communism, which was published under sponsorship of The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

The referenced memorandum approved dissemination to the Attorney General; Mr. William P. Rogers, Deputy Attorney General; Assistant Attorneys General William F. Tompkins, Warren Olney III, and [] and the Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service.

Enclosed are separate memoranda for the Attorney General and Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service, with appropriate enclosures on Bureau letterhead.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (1) That enclosed memorandum for Attorney General be approved and forwarded.
- (2) That enclosed memorandum for Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service, be approved, and forwarded by Liaison Section.

Enclosures

CDB

CDB:hemr

(6)

- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - R. R. Roach
- 1 - P. C. Young

✓ RECORDED - 81
 100-391697-462
 MAY 1 1957
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8-28-89 BY 8801 JG

CENTRAL
 2/10/57

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The fifth number of a periodical bulletin issued to promote discussion of leading questions in the field of civil liberties, and to describe the purposes and operations of the Fund for the Republic as an educational institution in this field.

CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-2-83 BY SP1000C/08

IN THE TRADITION OF FREEDOM

The American Traditions Project

The American Traditions Project was established by the Fund last year as a means of discovering and dramatizing incidents from daily life, particularly those which might never reach the headlines, in which the courage and good sense of Americans had been keeping bright our traditions of freedom and justice.

The project offered a series of awards for letters reporting true stories of individuals or groups who had successfully defended the rights to think and read freely, who had applied the principles of the Bill of Rights in concrete human situations against the dictates of expediency, who had stood conscientiously for freedom and fairness or upheld the rights of conscience of others. Some 400 letters were received, several in some instances describing the same episode; these were submitted to a distinguished panel of judges, who selected the thirteen reported cases which seemed most worthy of award. These were announced by Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, one of the panel, at a dinner held in Washington on February 21 in honor of the principals of the selected episodes. The accounts which follow are taken from Judge Rosenman's address.

A Courageous Legislator

"The first prize in this contest was awarded to the six people who picked out the incident of which the principal actor was Mr. John B. Orr, Jr., and the cash prize

will be divided among the six writers. Mr. Orr is a native Southerner, born in Miami, Fla., some thirty-seven years ago. He is a representative in the Florida State Legislature. He has made many contributions to his community in the course of his career, both in the Legislature of his State and in his private life. The one which stands out, however, is an incident of extreme personal and political courage, showing devotion to the highest ideals of the American tradition.

"During a special session of the Florida Legislature, Mr. Orr was the only representative who stood up and voted against legislation designed to continue school segregation in his State in spite of the decision of the Supreme Court. This was risking not merely a political career, it was undertaking an extreme hazard to his own personal safety. The courage of his stand was emphasized by the fact that he stood all alone. He believed and said that segregation was morally wrong, no matter how long it had existed. He said so and he voted so. The vote on that day was eighty-nine 'aye' and one 'nay,' and the 'nay' was the man who was the principal of the first prize award.

"I wish that I had the time to read to you the speech which this native white Southerner made to his white colleagues on this explosive subject. 1957 was worthy of being placed with some of the highest expositions of the American tradition. And, believe it or not, this man was running for re-election, even as he cast his vote, and we all know that his vote was contrary to the personal sentiments of practically all of his constituents. The result, however, of the election was a great tribute to

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him as well as to his constituents. It is true that there were the usual threats and abuse, there were all of the anonymous phone calls and letters which such men must endure, but there were also letters and words of praise, and finally in admiration and respect for his courage and integrity this man was reelected and even some of his colleagues who had voted 'aye' stated in public deep feelings of respect for his stand against what he thought was wrong, for his refusal to compromise with his conscience. As long as there is such courage and as long as political opponents can recognize it, then we can be confident that our American democracy, our American traditions, can solve the most difficult and controversial of problems.

In Defense of a Stranger

"Our second story does not have the high drama of legislative debate and of a great public issue, but in its own way it reaches deeply into the American tradition which prevails among the great masses of our country. The second prize-winning letter tells this story. There were two women working as waitresses in a bus depot in Akron, Ohio. An unknown man, a stranger in Akron, had come in on his way back from attending a midnight mass on Christmas eve, and while he was waiting for a bus he fell asleep. Some local police came in, woke him up, abused him, struck him, handcuffed him and finally arrested him for loitering. As it happened, this man was a recent refugee from Communist Poland. He had suffered a great many years in Nazi concentration camps, but these ladies didn't know any of that; all they knew was that he was a man, a stranger in town, who was being treated maliciously and unjustly, for they had seen the whole outrageous incident themselves from beginning to end, and on their own these two ladies took up this man's defense.

"After he had been taken to jail these ladies drove

out to the man's home in an adjoining town; they spoke to his landlady where he lived; they went to see the police in that town; they even went to see the mayor of that town, and then they went to court, and although their employer had broadly intimated to them that they should not voluntarily testify, they did testify in his defense as eye witnesses in the court trial, and as a result of their effort this man was acquitted and released. These ladies did all that for a man whom they had never seen before because they saw a human being receiving treatment which was alien to our American concept of fair play and justice, and if these ladies had not done this it is clear and undoubted that this man would probably have been thrown in jail and stayed there for a term for something he had not done. I am glad that this perseverance and insistence on American traditional fair play can receive tonight the recognition which they deserve. The ladies are here, Mrs. ~~Ann Harr~~ and Mrs. ~~Bessie Dick~~.

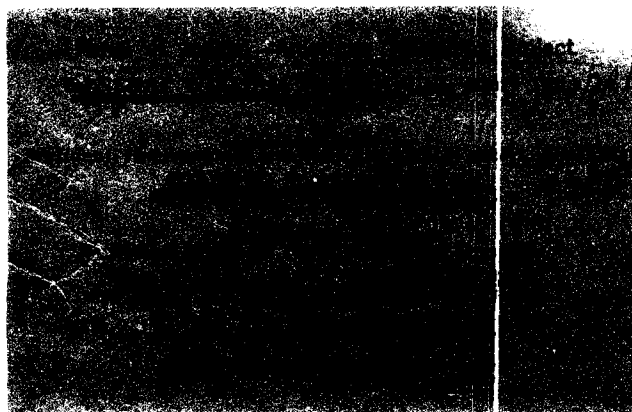
An Independent Editor

"Our third incident comes from an extremely important area of American democracy, the free press of America, and the third prize-winning letter tells this story. Mrs. ~~Hazel Brannon Smith~~ is a Southerner. As a reporter and publisher she has been working in Lexington, Mississippi for over twenty years. During that time she has carried on the work of a small-town editor. She now has two weekly newspapers. In recent years, to maintain a free and impartial press in the deep South, to be an editor and reporter in the American tradition, has required extraordinary devotion and courage; and, often in the face of deep-seated community opposition, Mrs. Smith has continued to exhibit both of these qualities. She has printed the news honestly and fearlessly as she saw it; she has refused to pass incidents over, even when reporting them has subjected her to great criticism and pressure.

"For example, she has not hesitated to condemn bootlegging in dry Mississippi or open gambling even though the bootleggers and some local politicians tried their best to silence her. But her real time of trial came during the recent outbreaks of race violence. For her forthright editorials and news reporting she was held in contempt of court and also suffered a judgment of \$10,000 for libel of a local public officer. Fortunately both of these judgments were set aside by the Appellate Court of Mississippi. As a result of the same kind of newspaper reporting her husband was fired from his job as superintendent of the local hospital. Her advertising

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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and commercial revenues have been cut almost in half through the same kind of local pressure. But Hazel Brannon Smith carries on, and she does not intend to give up. Tonight we honor Mrs. Smith; tomorrow let us hope her fellow citizens will join with us, for she is no enemy of the South, but one of its finest representatives; a woman who has courageously served her community by maintaining a free and independent press; and that is important, not only for each section of the country but for the American tradition as a whole.

In Our American Tradition

"Now I would like very briefly to summarize for you the ten remaining prize-winning letters. I think the important thing is that they give you a very real feeling for the range in scope and variety of our American tradition. It is the story of Father John Corcoran, who mobilized a Chicago community against crime, slums, and prejudice; of Mrs. Mary Farquharson, a Seattle housewife, who fought successfully for two years and finally helped a carpenter clear himself of unjust security risk charges. There are the Rev. Sumpter Logan and the Rev. Theodore Braun, ministers of Henderson, Kentucky, who stood up for their convictions during a time of

intense conflict over race issues. And then there is the Indiana priest, Father Peter Miller, who came to hear the confessions of Mexican migrant workers and stayed on to fight for their rights to decent living conditions.

"There is the Oklahoma City teacher, Samuel L. Powers, who resigned his position in a school on grounds of conscience; and there is Joseph L. Brechner, a radio-station owner in Maryland, who saw to it that both sides of the raging controversy on textbooks were presented to the people. There is F. Eugene Mueller, the superintendent of schools in San Bernardino, who responded to charges of communism in the schools by organizing a seminar for free inquiry into the whole subject of totalitarianism; Mrs. Barbara S. Marx of Arlington, Va., who stood firm for her conviction on the race issue, even when she herself was subjected to insults and threats; and, finally, there is the story of United States Senator Harry S. Cain and his work for civil liberties, and of two students in Nebraska who convinced a hostile audience to respect the rights of conscientious objectors. A few of these stories made the headlines. Most of them did not and never would. But all of them are deeply imbued with the spirit which we honor tonight—the spirit of freedom which rests on courage, and the spirit of the entire American tradition."

FREEDOM, FAITH AND COURAGE

"American freedom today is under attack—very often, by people who insist that they are trying to defend it. In a short-range view conditions are extremely ominous; yet I think if we look at our present situation long-range we can see that we have little reason to be afraid. We get waves of reaction in this country, periodically, in times of extreme national stress, and the great national

*From an address
by Bruce Catton at the
American Traditions Dinner:*

tradition comes under attack—seems, indeed, to be in a fair way to be overwhelmed entirely. But the waves always pass—with however much incidental injustice and oppression for certain individual victims—because the instinct in the American mind and heart which the tradition is based on is, finally, irrepressible. . . . The thing to bear in mind is that the spasms to which we

and then subjected are always of temporary life do come out of them; their authors pass on forgotten, surviving only as melancholy foot-history; and our great tradition, down the grows broader and stronger despite these tem-setbacks.

ASINS OF TERROR

are today emerging from the latest of these of terror. We have seen some highly discourag- in recent years. We have seen an atmosphere the mere fact that a man was accused of some- as taken as proof of his guilt. We have been ded of Mark Twain's comment on the reign of or that prevailed in late medieval times under the Doges of Venice, when a committee on public safety received anonymous accusations against the loyalty of citizens; as Mark Twain remarked, if the committee could find no proof to support an accusation it usually found the accused guilty on the ground this simply showed how deep and devious and inscrutable the man's villainy really was. We have witnessed an era in which it was widely taken as a crime for an accused per- son to invoke the Bill of Rights itself in his own defense —as if the provisions of the Bill of Rights were not meant to operate in precisely a time like the present. We have seen times in which no one in authority seems willing to place the slightest amount of trust in the innate loyalty, good faith and intelligence of the Amer- ican people; times which led former Senator Harry Cain to burst out with the cry: 'A whole clique of spies could hardly do as much damage to us as could our fail- ure as a government to have confidence in the people.'

The Instinct to Defend

"We have seen all of this, and we can still see too much of it if we look around carefully. Yet the crest of the wave is passing. It is passing because the American people are responding once more to that deepest and most profound of all of their instincts—the instinct to defend the tradition of freedom when it comes under attack.

"It is passing because the courts of America have stood firmly in defense of individual liberties. It is pass- ing because many groups and individuals have stood up for the rights of their fellow Americans. Scientists have made a contribution by their efforts to promote rational discussion of the dangers of too much secrecy about their work. The Congressional committee headed by

Representative Moss has thrown much light on the secretive practices of some government agencies. The press, through its reports on the Moss Committee's work and through the efforts of individual newspaper- men, has helped to break through some of the official barriers to the free flow of information.

"The American people are gradually getting the materials for a more factual understanding of commu- nism in the United States and the world. The events in Hungary have clearly demonstrated the essential falsity of Communist claims to a concern for civil liberties— and have contributed to the decline of the Communists here and in other free countries.

"But when I say that the crest of the wave is passing I do not mean that no threats to liberty exist. Arbitrary censorship by both private and governmental groups has continued to affect a wide area of American life. Government restrictions on the flow of information are still excessive in some agencies. Much confusion remains in the administration of security measures; some unfair procedures have become institutionalized. The pres- sures of conformity are still strong in many places.

"Yet I feel confident that the American tradition will flourish in the future as it has in the past. That tradi- tion, to repeat, is something that lives inside of us. It is not a set of laws; and freedom itself is not simply the absence of restraint. Rather, it is an abiding inner faith that cannot be limited by doubt or by confusion or by fear. It is something built into the American soul, and in the long run it is unconquerable.

"... What You Feel You Have to Do"

"The secret of the American tradition is freedom — freedom unabridged and unadulterated, freedom that applies to everybody in the land at all times and places. ... Freedom rests on courage; and courage, in its turn, rests on faith—on faith in ourselves and faith in our fel- lows, on faith that the thing which we believe in and which we live by is immortal and everlasting, a funda- mental truth of the universe with which we move on toward the future. It is on this faith that our confidence finally rests. For out of this faith come those noble state- ments which show why this American tradition is in the end invulnerable; statements like that one of the Okla- homa schoolmaster, whose actions brought forth an American Traditions award:

'In a thing like this you don't stop to think. You just do what you feel you have to do.'

"On that spirit, and in that spirit, we can go ahead to broaden the great American tradition."

A COUNTER-CURRENT TO CONFORMITY

From the introduction
by ~~Elmo Roper~~ at
American Traditions Dinner

"As all of you know, the Fund for the Republic was established in 1952 by the Ford Foundation to uphold and advance the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. From its very beginning, the Fund has been concerned with the maintenance of the American Traditions. That concern is what led us to establish the Awards we are presenting here tonight as one small way of showing that the spirit of independent thought and courageous action which dominated the founders of our country is still alive today.

"In 1953 we asked a committee of noted historians and philosophers to study the ways in which the 'legacy of liberty in America' might best be preserved. This committee was headed by ~~Stanley Pargellis~~ of the Newberry Library in Chicago, and its membership included ~~McGeorge Bundy~~, dean of the faculty of arts and sciences of Harvard University; ~~Ralph H. Gabriel~~ of the department of history, Yale University; ~~Arthur Murphy~~, chairman of the department of philosophy at the University of Washington; and ~~Clinton Rossiter~~, of the department of government at Cornell University.

"The Pargellis Committee made its report in October of 1953. The report declared: 'Your Committee regards Freedom as both an historic tradition and a *continuing* objective. The struggle for freedom has never been, and can *never* be, *wholly* won... There is no reservoir of past freedoms from which the present age can draw the *exact* answers to its own problems. It must defend the principle of freedom for its own time in its own way. Nevertheless an understanding of freedom's victories in the past, as they have been embodied in our tradition and have contributed to our strengths, is essential if continuity in the tradition is to be maintained. Your Committee believes that a country cannot break with its past without grave risk of disaster.'

"This Committee felt that the work of the Fund should be based upon two guiding principles: 1)

that 'our national commitment to the basic principle of *freedom* in America should remain firm' and that we 'should address our attention to the persistent and increasingly complex analytical problem of *clarifying* the roles of specific rights and liberties in *contemporary* society.'

"In its activities in the last three years, the Fund has kept those two principles in mind. We have worked to preserve the Bill of Rights as a living document with vitality and meaning in twentieth century terms. We have financed a comprehensive study of communism and its threat to democratic values. And we have tried to encourage individual Americans to stand up for their Constitutional rights as members of a free society.

"Our freedoms are not a set of building blocks from which the top few can be toppled off and the rest will stand. They are an organic, living whole, each dependent on the health of the others for their own good functioning. Legal safeguards alone will not maintain them. There are more effective ways to stop free speech than the threat of sending men to jail. In fact, jails have produced some pretty eloquent documents from time to time. When the passion to belong, to be alike, to swim in the mainstream becomes the dominating one, the more difficult but equally human desire to think one's own thoughts and live by one's own convictions atrophies. With it goes the sustaining force of free human society.

"The pressures toward conformity in our expanding industrial society are great; they will continue to be great. But the only way we can keep our national identity, in which our technological genius and material plenty are regarded as no more important than our tolerance, our generosity, our belief in individual initiative, and our acceptance of the basic equality and dignity of man, is to keep alive a counter-current to that conformity, which constantly challenges and questions what we currently feel and believe in the name of a liberating sense of human life...."

Directors Elected

At the meeting of the Directors of the Fund for the Republic on February 20, three new Directors were elected to fill the remaining vacancies on the Board.

The new Directors are: The Very Rev. Msgr. Francis J. Lally, editor of *The Pilot*, official newspaper of the Archdiocese of Boston; the Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, former Senator and former Governor of New York; and the Rev. Dr. Henry Pitney Van Duser, President of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

Commission on the American Indian

The Fund for the Republic has announced the establishment of a Commission on the Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian. It is headed by O. Meredith Wilson, President of the University of Oregon.

Serving with Dr. Wilson are Charles A. Sprague, publisher of the *Oregon Statesman*; Karl Llewellyn, Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Chicago; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., Professor Emeritus of History, Harvard University; and W. W. Keeler, Vice President and General Manager of Phillips Petroleum and Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

The purpose of the Commission, according to Dr. Wilson, is "to arrive at a better understanding of the obligation of other citizens and of the Federal and state governments to the Indians," and to "consider legal, economic, and social measures" affecting Indians "with a view to their fuller and more responsible participation in American life."

The Commission will make specific studies of the governments of Indian tribes and groups; of the changes in policy of the United States toward Indians in the last quarter century; of the premise that the assimilation of the Indian should proceed as rapidly as possible; of representative tribal economies, in order to disclose problems involving such matters as credit facilities and land alienation; of the problems of Indians in non-Indian communities, and of the psychological consequences for American Indians of their special status.

The work of the Commission, Dr. Wilson has said, can be particularly valuable at the present time in view of the "notable change which is taking place in the government's policy for handling its treaty and moral responsibilities toward the American Indian."

The Commission has been established with an initial grant from the Fund for the Republic of \$100,000.

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57

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☐ See Me☐ For Your Info☐ For appropriate
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L. B. Nichols
 Room 5640, Ext. 691

A memo
from

IRVING FERNAN

4/19/57

TO: L.B. Nichols

For your information.

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LIAISON SECTION

4/29/57, 1957

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<u>Reading Room, 5531</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>and return</u>

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 5-10-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: JOHN COGLEY
FUND FOR THE REPUBLICALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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While talking to Don Appel of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on other matters, he told me that he has been working on the study on blacklisting, that he feels they now have the Fund For the Republic behind the eight ball, that Cogley has printed as fact unconfirmed information, that income tax records show that all the employees working on the project were paid by the Fund For the Republic. There was no grant to Cogley to carry this on as an independent project; therefore, it must be concluded that this is the work of the Fund.

He further stated they have talked to several people mentioned in the report who repudiated what was printed therein, that next to Cogley the conduct of Arnold Forster was reprehensible, that it was Forster who claimed that Victor Riesel got \$1500, that it was Forster who claimed that Vic paid \$350 each to Jack Rad, Karl Baarslag and an individual named Neuser, and that it was Forster who had involved George Sokolsky. He stated they were trying to subpoena Cogley's records and Cogley has told the Committee that he will answer no more questions, that there may be a high price that he will have to pay but "please God I will be ready to pay it." This means that if Cogley comes before the House Committee on Un-American Activities next week, he is headed for a contempt citation.

The Committee has secured originals of letters written by Cogley to the Block Drug Company and a reporter named Horton of "Reporter Magazine" wherein Cogley stated he made no promise to keep confidential the information he secured. Thus, when Cogley declines to furnish information and the Committee produces these letters, the fat will be in the fire.

cc - Mr. Boardman
 cc - Mr. Belmont
 cc - Mr. Rosen

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: May 14, 1957

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

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Last Wednesday evening I had dinner with John Bugas at the Shoreham Hotel. He was very friendly as usual. He apologized for not having been by the Bureau. From the way he talked, he apparently has been carrying a pretty heavy schedule. He wants us to never hesitate to call upon him for anything. He was most praiseworthy in acknowledging his personal debt of gratitude to the Bureau and the Director particularly.

Mr. Bugas thinks Ernie Breech and he are making constant progress with young Henry Ford on both the Fund for the Republic and the Ford Foundation. Young Henry is now very sour on Dean David, formerly of the Harvard School of Business Administration, who was put in charge of the Ford Foundation. He has developed a bitter hatred for Paul Hoffman and the Fund for the Republic. Bugas stated one of Henry's shortcomings is his inability to make a complete rightabout-face once he has made a mistake. He said young Henry had been sold on the concept of the Ford Foundation by the public relations concern with which Ping Ferry was connected. Young Henry is still trying to bring pressure through some of the board members on both the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic to get away from controversial projects.

John further told me that Sidney Weinberg has exerted tremendous influence on Henry. He then stated that Weinberg frequently talks about the Director and conveys the impression of being very close to the Director and being a confidant of the Director. Bugas inquired if this were so. I told him it was a fact that the Director knows Weinberg; that Weinberg was certainly not a confidant of the Director; and that I could not believe the Director would even consider him in the nature of a close personal friend. Bugas then told me Weinberg had told him of his contacts with the Director during the war years over Peggy Carson and the Chairman of the War Production Board, Mr. Nelson. I further told Bugas that the Director, of course, knows of Weinberg's close connection with the Ford setup. The fact that Weinberg would countenance such monstrosities as the Fund for the Republic and the Ford Foundation is simply incompatible with his alleged closeness to the Director.

Enclosure

5-16-57
 cc - Mr. Boardman
 cc - Mr. Belmont
 cc - Foreign Liaison Unit
 LBN:rm (5) 60 MAY 23 1957

that is correct
 of course know him

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 MAY 20 1957
 MAY 22 1957

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

May 14, 1957

Bugas has been appointed a U. S. delegate to the International Labor Organization and contemplates going to Switzerland on or about June 1. He is taking his family and then will take his vacation. He inquired if we had any contacts over there. I told him the Director is well acquainted with the new Ambassador, Henry J. Taylor, and the Consul General, Franklin C. Gowen; and that I knew the Director would be glad to drop them a note. He stated he would deeply appreciate this. Notes are attached to John S. Bugas, Henry J. Taylor and Franklin C. Gowen.

✓ ✓



THE AMERICAN LEGION

FIRING LINE



Prepared and Distributed By The National Americanism Commission, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana

VOL. NO. VI, NO. 10

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May 15, 1957

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Beneficiary of the largest single grant ever awarded by the Ford Foundation's Fund For The Republic is the Southern Regional Council, Inc. (SRC), whose headquarters is located in the Wesley Memorial Building, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. As of last year, the Council received a total of \$445,000 "in support of studies and activities to promote interracial improvements" in the South. According to The Fund For The Republic's Three-Year Report, dated May 31, 1956, page 22, the SRC "has concentrated on building strong state organizations, so that each of its groups will be able to stand on its own feet when Fund support is terminated." (See "The New York Times", 12-16-56, page 117.)

Founded in January 1944 as a successor to the Commission On Interracial Cooperation, Inc., the Council's original corporation papers reflected its following "objects and purposes": "...to organize and maintain a Regional Council for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship..."

This document, filed in the Superior Court of Fulton County, State of Georgia, listed the names of five incorporators of the Council as follows: DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, RALPH MCGILL, and BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, Atlanta Georgia; DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, Nashville, Tennessee (now deceased); and DR. HOWARD W. ODUM, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. (See Petition of Incorporation, Book 062, pages 64-67, 1-6-44; and "The New York Times", 10-17-55.)

Today, the Council has expanded its activities into 12 states. Virtually supported by the enormous grant from The Fund For The Republic, the SRC "has strengthened its head office in Atlanta and organized Councils on Human Relations with interracial boards and staffs" in the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. (See Fund For The Republic "Three-Year Report," 1956, page 22.)

Formerly entitled The Southern Frontier, SRC's official organ is called New South, a 16-page monthly journal published in Atlanta, Georgia. With the approval of the United States Treasury Department, the Council enjoys tax-exempt status and all contributions to the organization can be treated as Federal income tax deductions. According to a revised roster dated April 1957, the SRC's

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102 MAY 1957

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

Board of Directors numbered 78, which included some of the following as officers and staff members: MARION A. WRIGHT, President; Vice-Presidents: GORDON B. HANCOCK, A. W. DENT, and PAUL D. WILLIAMS; RUFUS E. CLEMENT, Chairman, Executive Committee; JOSEPH HAAS, Counsel; HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Director; JOHN CONSTABLE, Director of Information; and FLORENCE B. IRVING, Research Assistant. (See "New South", February 1955, page 1; and March 1957, page 2.)

"RED FRONT"

Readers of the April 15, 1957 issue of the Firing Line will recall the Council was identified as a "Southern Red front by MANNING JOHNSON on March 8, 1957 before the State of Louisiana Legislative Committee On Segregation." The Firing Line report also revealed testimony which reflected the Council was "formed by JAMES E. JACKSON, a southern organizer of the Communist Party" and "is affiliated with the Mississippi Council On Human Relations."

Records of The American Legion reveal a definite trend of inter-relationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization. According to the files of the National Americanism Commission, the following 16 former Directors of the SRC have been supporters of this aforementioned subversive organization: CHARLOTTE H. BROWN, LOUIS E. BURNHAM, GEORGE E. CLARY, HERBERT DAVIDSON, J. M. ELLISON, CLARK H. FOREMAN, GUY B. JOHNSON, DAVID D. JONES, GEORGE S. MITCHELL, HOWARD W. ODUM, F. D. PATTERSON, EDWIN A. PENICK, HOMER P. RAINEY, IRA DeA. REID, FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON and AUBREY WILLIAMS. (See SRC publication "What Kind of South Do You Want?", undated, pages 7 and 8; "New South", December 1946, pages 25 and 26; "The Southern Frontier", March 1944, page 1; "The New York Times", 12-16-56, page 117; HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 1589, 1595-1598; HUAC, Report, Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1947, page 1; "New York Journal American", 11-7-55, page 1; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1957, page 81.)

The files of The American Legion reflect the following 9 current SRC Directors have also been affiliated with the subversive Southern Conference For Human Welfare: RUFUS B. ATWOOD, PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, A. W. DENT, BENJAMIN E. MAYS, H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, E. C. PETERS, JOSEPHINE WILKINS and MARION A. WRIGHT. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 1594-1597; HUAC, Report, Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1947, pages 1 and 15; and "Daily Worker", 5-20-47, page 5.)

At the conclusion of a 1954 investigation, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee reported the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (of 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana), "was initially an adjunct of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare. After the exposure of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare as a Communist front, it began to wither and was finally dissolved, but the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., continued." The Subcommittee found that after "an objective study", the "Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. is operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes as its predecessor organization, the Southern Conference For Human Welfare." (See Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1955, pages V and VIII.)

For the information of Firing Line readers, the following 8 current Directors of the Council have been affiliated with the aforementioned Southern

Conference Educational Fund, Inc., which was fully exposed in the July 1, 1955 issue of this publication: F. WOODS BECKMAN, BLAILSFORD R. BRAZEAL, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, JAMES M. DABBS, CHARLES G. GOMILLION, DUNCAN HUNTER, BENJAMIN E. MAYS and JOSEPHINE WILKINS. It may be of interest to recall that former SRC Director AUBREY WILLIAMS has been President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund since 1948. He was named as a member of the Communist Party during the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's 1954 hearings: (See Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1955, pages VI, VII and 102; and Southern Conference Educational Fund, leaflets and letter-heads, 1953-1956.)

REPORT FROM THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

Due to the increasing number of petitions filed by the United States Attorney General with the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB), the National Americanism Commission has compiled the following statistical report on the status of 24 cases which this quasi-judicial body has received since its creation by the Subversive Activities Control (Internal Security) Act of 1950:

The SACB has ordered six organizations to register under the Subversive Activities Control Act. In a Modified Report dated December 18, 1956, the Board "recommended that the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit affirm the Board's Order entered April 20, 1953, requiring the Communist Party of the United States to register as a Communist-action organization under section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950." The Board also ordered each of the following groups to register as a Communist-front organization: Jefferson School of Social Science (1955), Labor Youth League (1955), National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1956), United May Day Committee (1956) and Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (1955.)

Subject to review of the whole Board, Recommended Decisions have been issued to require each of the following groups to register as a Communist-front organization: American Peace Crusade (1957), California Labor School (1957), Civil Rights Congress (1955), and the Washington Pension Union (1956.)

In various procedural stages are the cases of the following 7 alleged Communist-front organizations: American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born, California Emergency Defense Committee, The Colorado Committee To Protect Civil Liberties, Committee To End Sedition Laws, The Connecticut Volunteers For Civil Rights, National Negro Labor Council, and Save Our Sons Committee. Cases of the following two alleged Communist-infiltrated organizations are also pending: International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers and the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America.

After extensive hearings, the Board ordered dismissal of the following petitions on the grounds that evidence reflected these organizations to be defunct: American Slav Congress, The Committee For A Democratic Far Eastern Policy, Council On African Affairs, International Workers Order, Inc., and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. According to the Sixth Annual Report of the SACB, dated June 30, 1956, six organizations have appealed Board decisions to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, namely: Communist Party, U.S.A., Labor Youth League, Jefferson School of Social Science, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the United May Day Committee.

TODAY'S ASSOCIATES - "PROGRESSIVE LITERATURE" OUTLET

In her January 1957 issue of Today, MISS ANNA LOUISE STRONG declared her periodical will be converted from its present form to a monthly column of the same title scheduled for future appearances in the National Guardian. Mimeographed on legal colored paper, Today has used the following mailing addresses: Post Office Box 161, Montrose, California, and Post Office Box 87, Altadena, California. For the information of readers, MISS STRONG is a long time supporter of the international Communist conspiracy. An identified member of of the Communist Party, U. S. A., she has "collaborated with agents of the Soviet Intelligence apparatus" and has written for Communist Party publications. (See Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Report, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1952, page 158.)

On March 14, 1957, BETTY CHESLEY, Secretary of the apparent newly formed Today's Associates of Post Office Box 87, Altadena, California, wrote the following message to Today readers: "This is a plan to share good progressive literature. It grows from the letters that came to ANNA LOUISE STRONG'S Today. Some people wrote offering books and magazines; they take many progressive periodicals and are willing to share them. Other people want progressive literature but have little means to buy it and live miles from any source. The staff which handled the volunteer mailing of Today have worked out a plan by which they hope to supply the names of those wanting good reading matter to those having good reading matter to give away...If you are able to help in this project, please fill out the coupon...and return to us at above address."

This plan listed the following "progressive literature": Catholic Worker, I. F. Stone's Weekly, Manchester Guardian, The Nation, National Guardian, New Republic, New Statesman & Nation, Monthly Review and The Progressive.

FACTS ON CHESLEY

According to The American Legion files, one MRS. ELIZABETH R. CHESLEY of Pasadena, California was listed as a signer of a quarter-page advertisement which appeared in the September 20, 1951 edition of The Los Angeles Times, demanding a reduction of bail for Communist Party leaders who have been involved in Smith Act prosecution cases. The Daily Worker of April 13, 1951, page 5, reflected that a MRS. BETTY CHESLEY, Chairman of the Pasadena Non-Partisan Peace Committee, led a "two hour vehicular parade through the main streets of Pasadena", California. On May 8, 1954, a MRS. ELIZABETH CHESLEY was honored at a "Mother's Day Testimonial For Peace", which was announced by the Southern California Peace Crusade, an identified subversive organization. (See "Daily People's World", 5-5-54, page 6; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1957, page 80.)

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP: According to FBI Director J. EDGAR HOOVER, Party membership as of January 1, 1957 totaled 17,360. This represents a drop of 14.4% from last year's total of 20,289. He warned against discounting Party strength based on actual membership.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR

DATE: May 16, 1957

FROM : CLYDE TOLSON

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-8-89 BY 20207198

Tolson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Mr. Tracy furnished me the attached copy of a letter addressed to [redacted] in care of the Committee on Government Security, from [redacted] Security Officer of the University of California dated April 3, 1957.

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This communication indicates that the Fund for the Republic has initiated a project to cover five general areas as listed below:

1. A survey of the minimum requirements of the national defense, the unavoidable necessities in terms of military measures, civil defense, defenses against subversion, against espionage and sabotage, governmental secrecy, etc.
2. A survey of the impact on individual freedom of military manpower policies -- the draft and reserve acts, deferment, educational measures, etc.
3. A survey of the problem of sedition, of the legal, statutory and other measures directed toward its suppression, their practical and historic backgrounds and their impact upon individual freedom.
4. A survey of governmental secrecy and of counter-espionage activities of police and intelligence agencies, from the point of view of their necessity, efficacy and their impact on individual freedom.
5. A review of the extensive work already in existence on the system of personnel security screening.

INDEXED - 51

RECORDED-79

INDEXED - 79

CT:DSS

ENCLOSURE

I would like a memo
re. ~~persons~~ persons mentioned
involved in F. I. R. project.

58 JUN 3 1957

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN *file 5/21/57*

DATE: May 17, 1957

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-8-89 BY 60815 *AP*

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Reference is made to Mr. Tolson's memorandum to the Director dated 5/16/57 which had attached a copy of a letter from the Security Officer of the University of California dated 4/3/57. This letter reflects the Fund for the Republic (FFR) is financing "a project to clarify the basic issues raised by Government, considered as an institution to provide for the common defense, in respect to individual freedom." The "Consultants Specially Responsible" will be Dr. Rabi and [redacted] the Liaison Directors Senator Lehman and President Cole, the Staff Assistant Walter Millis.

The Director noted "I would like a memo re persons mentioned involved in FFR project. H."

In brief, Bufiles reflect the following information on individuals who may be identical to those mentioned as being connected with this FFR project.

[redacted] Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkley, California. He was born [redacted] graduated Stanford University in 1942 and was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford where he received a Ph.D. degree in 1950.

He has not been the subject of an investigation by the FBI but was investigated by the U.S. Naval Intelligence in 1951 in view of [redacted]

That investigation revealed no derogatory information regarding [redacted] but reflected that associates, references and a brother, [redacted] were then or had previously been members of CP front organizations. (100-391422-1)

CHARLES W. COLE

Cole, President of Amherst College and an FFR Director since December, 1952, has not been investigated by the Bureau. When contacted in August, 1946, during a security-type investigation of Prof. Colston Estey Warne, Dr. Cole stated he had been a long-time friend and associate

- WJG:vep
(5)
- 1 - Mr. Boardman
 - 1 - Mr. Belmont
 - 1 - Section
 - 1 - Mr. ~~Goffney~~ Nichols

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/22/85 BY 9145-0150

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Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

of Warne and he considered Warne's loyalty to the U.S. Government was beyond question. Investigation reflected that Warne had been affiliated with communist front organizations and that Louis Budenz had identified him as a communist. In July, 1948, the National President of Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity reported that Cole was one of the Amherst officials responsible for removing restrictions on membership rules from the fraternity's charter resulting in its pledging a Negro student at Amherst. This action was thought to be the result of communist sponsored influence. In correspondence with Dr. Cole during January, 1949, the Director denied ever making a statement attributed to him by an alumnus of Amherst to the effect that communism was "rife" at Amherst College. Dr. Cole was cordial in his reply, stating he was confident there was no basis for the rumors about communists at Amherst. (100-391697-16X7, 82)

HERBERT H. LEHMAN

Lehman was born 3/28/78 at New York City, and attended Williams College where he received his B.A. degree in 1899, M.A. degree in 1921 and LL.D. degree in 1929. He became a partner in Lehman Brothers, bankers in New York City in 1908 and retired from that company in 1929. He was elected Lieutenant Governor of New York State in 1928, was Governor of that State from 1932-42 and was U.S. Senator from New York from 1949-56. (Who's Who, 1956-57)

Lehman has not been investigated by the FBI. A search of Bureau indices reflects there are approximately 600 references to be reviewed and it appears no previous summary has been written. These files are being pulled and a summary on Lehman will be submitted early next week.

WALTER MILLIS

Millis was born 3-16-99 at Atlanta, Georgia, and graduated Yale University in 1920. He was an editorial and staff writer for the "New York Herald Tribune" from 1924-54 and is the author of several books and magazine articles. (Who's Who, 1956-57)

Millis has not been investigated by the Bureau. He is a consultant for the FFR, was affiliated with the Institute of Pacific Relations (cited CP front organization) from 1934-43 and has been an unfair critic of the FBI.

In 1943 Millis was one of 700 who signed an open pro-Russian letter sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (a cited CP front organization) and published in the "Daily Worker" (an east coast communist newspaper).

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

On 12/22/54 Millis, as a consultant with the FFR, was reported to have prepared working papers for a study of the Federal Security Program. In about September, 1955, Millis denounced the Federal Security Program in a radio broadcast and in a magazine article. He was scheduled to speak at a conference sponsored by the National Lawyers Guild (a cited CP front organization) to be held in New York City on 10/15/55. His speech was to deal with "loyalty-security and the laws." (100-421610 and FFR Running Memo - II, Page 18 and 19)

In October, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., reported Millis had stated it was not the mechanics of the Federal Security Program to which he objected but the entire program itself. Lewis also stated Millis had referred to the FBI as a "secret political police." In a letter to the "Boston Daily Record" on 10-11-55 Millis wrote regarding the FBI that "if we have reached a point to which it is no longer allowable to describe as 'a secret political police' an organization which is avowedly a police organization, avowedly operates in secret and is avowedly much concerned with political conspiracy then I think our liberties are in far more danger than I had supposed." (FFR Running Memo - II, Page 38 and 39)

An official of the "New York Herald Tribune" advised on 12/14/55 that during his employment with that paper Millis came close to following the CP line in that he influenced the newspaper's policy to support strongly the Amerasia subjects. (FFR Running Memo - II, Page 45 and 46)

On 12/10/56 "The New York Times" reflected Walter Millis had analyzed the program of the CP draft resolution. Millis pointed out that although the Party claimed to be a peaceful organization and operate independently of Moscow, it is the same old Communist Party with its former aims of a Soviet America unchanged. The FFR announced it would distribute Millis' article. (FFR Running Memo - III, Page 69)

In an article published in January, 1957, Millis was critical of Don Whitehead's book "The FBI Story" and stated it "fails to supply the amount or kind of information about our secret police that would be necessary to gage fairly its adequacy, its efficiency, its motivation, and its political and social implications." (FFR Running Memo - II, Page 59)

ISIDOR ISAAC RABI

Dr. Isidor Isaac Rabi, physicist, is chairman of the General Advisory Committee, Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and a consultant of the Research and Development Board. He was born 7/29/98, Austria, was

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

brought to the U.S. during his infancy and received a Ph.D. degree from Columbia University in 1927. Dr. Rabi did graduate study in Europe during 1927-29. He has been associated with City College of New York, Columbia University, University of Michigan and Stanford University as a professor and lecturer. He was a staff member and associate director, Radiation Laboratory, Massachusetts Institute of Technology 1940-45, was a U.S. delegate to UNESCO* Conference 1950 and is a member of United States National Commission for UNESCO. Dr. Rabi received the Nobel Prize in physics in 1944 and resides at 450 Riverside Drive, New York, New York. (Who's Who 1956-57)

Dr. Isidor Isaac Rabi was investigated by the FBI at the request of AEC during March, 1947. Persons interviewed described him as loyal, patriotic and a person of excellent character and reputation. One of his references was Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, atom scientist whose security clearance was revoked by AEC in 1954. During October, 1953, information was received by the Office of Special Investigations (OSI) that a security situation might exist at the Air Force Cambridge Research Center (AFRCRC) in that Dr. Rabi allegedly had a "Moscow" background and that Rabi allegedly encouraged the director and a consultant of the Lincoln Laboratory to sell the Administration on a controversial radar network for air defense of our northern frontier. Subsequent inquiry by OSI failed to substantiate above allegations. On December 22, 1953, [redacted] confidential source of above allegations and [redacted] was interviewed by FBI. [redacted] stated Rabi was "pinkish" in his political thinking. [redacted] was unable to provide the basis for this opinion. On April 23, 1954, AEC requested a reinvestigation of Rabi, which developed that Rabi and Oppenheimer had been personal and professional associates for approximately 24 years. They worked together at Los Alamos, New Mexico, 1942-43 and served together on the General Advisory Council of AEC from 1947-52. HCUA files reflected that Rabi was the signer of a letter published in the September 22, 1947, issue of "PM," defunct New York newspaper, which attacked former U.S. representative J. Parnell Thomas and defended the American Soviet Science Society (cited by HCUA) and Dr. Edward U. Condon. Dr. Condon was investigated under Executive Order 9835 during 1947 and was "retained" by U.S. Civil Service Commission in 1949. Investigation also developed Rabi's association with individuals who were allegedly communists; however, these associations appeared to be of a professional nature. Six New York confidential informants, who have furnished reliable information in the past and who were familiar with Communist Party activities in the New York area, advised that Rabi and his family were unknown to them. Persons interviewed offered favorable information concerning Dr. Rabi's loyalty and character. (116-1253)

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b7D

*United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ACTION:

None. For the Director's information.

[Handwritten signatures: B, Jm, Hk, and a checkmark]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman *JAN 57*

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AMH*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

DATE: May 21, 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY 68851 JAF

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Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mason _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

SYNOPSIS:

HERBERT H. LEHMAN - Summary

The enclosure to Mr. Tolson's memorandum to the Director dated 5-16-57 reflected the Fund for the Republic (FFR) was financing "a project to clarify the basic issues raised by government, considered as an institution to provide for the common defense, in respect to individual freedom." It lists the names of individuals who will be the "Consultants Specially Responsible." The Director requested a memorandum regarding persons mentioned involved in the FFR projects. Memorandum Belmont to Boardman dated May 17, 1957, reflected information from Bureau files on persons who may be identical to those mentioned as being connected with the FFR project. It was noted there were approximately 600 references to be reviewed concerning Herbert H. Lehman. These files have been reviewed and it is noted the Bureau has had cordial relations with Lehman, and in 1950 Lehman wrote he had always held the Director in the highest regard. He has been active on behalf of civil rights legislation and critical of segregation policies in the United States. During World War II he supported several communist front organizations. In 1944 as director-general of the UNRRA he stated that State Department had no right to withhold passports of 2 alleged communists who were being sent to Europe by the UNRRA. In 1946 he was endorsed by the American Labor Party and the "Daily Worker" in his campaign to run for the U. S. Senate.* In 1948 he defended Alger Hiss and in 1952-53, after being accused of recommending for employment some Americans who were later accused of communist links, he stated his recommendations were in accordance with his honest judgment. He has endorsed the objectives of the loyalty program but called for a review and the development of a better system for administering that program. He criticized Attorney General Brownell with partial misuse of secret FBI files when Mr. Brownell spoke regarding Harry Dexter White.

ACTION:

None. For the Director's information.

RECORDED - 1

INDEXED - 4

* Also endorsed by the Democratic Party and while endorsed by the Daily Worker, he was criticized by that paper for not denouncing anti-Soviet policies in the U.S.

JJG:awj:jel (6)
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Section
1 - Mr. Gaffney

10 MAY 28 1957

JUN 5 1957

A.H. Belmont to L.V. Boardman
Re: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

DETAILS:

The Bureau has had past cordial relations with Herbert H. Lehman. In response to a letter he received in February, 1950, Lehman wrote he knew of no move to force the Director's resignation from the FBI. He stated, "I, personally, have always held Mr. Hoover in the highest regard." (94-49434-2; 94-44887-3)

Lehman has been a member of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People since 1930. The "Daily Worker" (east coast communist newspaper) of 12/31/56 reflected Lehman led a fight for 7 years in the Senate to enact civil rights legislation. In April, 1957, he criticized segregation in educational classes on southern Army bases. (61-3176-61; 62-101087-A, "Washington City News Service" 10-10-56)

In 1941, Lehman revoked his sponsorship to an organization when he learned that many of the sponsors had been connected with communist activities. However, during the years of World War II, he held membership in, spoke on behalf of, and gave his name to several organizations which have been cited as communist fronts. These were Russian War Relief, Incorporated; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Progressive Citizens of America; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Incorporated; and the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists. In 1949, he was listed as a member of an anticommunist organization, the National Committee for Free Europe.

Lehman was nominated by both the Democratic Party and the American Labor Party (cited as communist infiltrated in NYC) for the U.S. Senate during the 1946 election campaign. The "Daily Worker" endorsed him for the office but criticized him for not denouncing anti-Soviet policies of U.S. Government officials. (100-3-72-A, "Daily Worker," 10/2/46)

Lehman served as director of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) during and after World War II. In October, 1944, he objected when the State Department held up passports of 2 alleged communists being sent to Europe by the UNRRA.

A.H. Belmont to L.V. Boardman
Re: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Lehman stated he did not believe they were communists, but if they were, he did not believe the State Department had any right to bar them from working for an international organization. (100-251233-26, page 2) Lehman was criticized by the Polish press in the United States as a result of his announcement in March, 1945, that a Russian national had been named a deputy director of the UNRRA and would head a mission of inquiry in Poland. In 1952-53 he was accused of recommending for employment some Americans who were later accused of having communist sympathies. Lehman stated his UNRRA staff consisted of more than 10,000 persons and on the basis of their service in UNRRA his recommendations were in accordance with his honest judgment and belief that they were loyal to the United States. (65-40955-151; 101-13893-A, "Washington Star," 1-4-53)

In December, 1950, he testified on behalf of Anna M. Rosenberg who was later appointed to be Assistant Secretary of Defense, but who was accused of having attended CP meetings during 1934-35. In August, 1948, Lehman defended Alger Hiss against "unfair accusations." In October, 1950, Lehman said he had no apology to make for his sympathy toward Hiss, since it was previous to Hiss' indictment and conviction for perjury.

During public speeches Lehman stated in 1950 that he understood and endorsed the objectives of the loyalty program but condemned it for the methods used. He called for a review of the loyalty program and the development of a better system to remove persons of un-American viewpoints from positions in the Government. In May, 1955, regarding anonymous informants, Lehman stated that President Eisenhower had said that it was the right of every American to face his accuser but "his Department of Justice recently argued before the Supreme Court that to grant such a right would endanger our national security." On 12/11/56 Lehman charged Attorney General Brownell with partial misuse of secret FBI files when Mr. Brownell spoke regarding Harry Dexter White. Lehman stated that if an Attorney General "may for partisan purposes publicly disclose secret police files on one individual and may, moreover, disclose such parts of those files to suit his purpose and withhold other parts, then no one in this country is safe from attack." (140-0-14561, "Washington Star," 1-28-50 and "New York World Telegram and Sun," 12/12/53)

On May 1, 1957, Lehman stated that the "revulsion" of Americans against the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee for its part in the Herbert Norman case was not deep enough to bring about permanent restraints on the investigating activities of Congressional committees. He stated he had come to believe that the chief fault was not with the Subcommittee but with the public climate which tolerates such action.

CONFIDENTIAL

? - orig & 1
- yellow - 1-Gaffney
- Boardman
- Belmont,
1 - Young
1 - section

The Attorney General

June 21, 1957

Director, FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY

ON

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

According to the June 14, 1957, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald," the Fund for the Republic (FFR) announced on June 13, 1957, that "it had enlisted 10 distinguished Americans in a 7-million-dollar search for the definition of a free society and a means to maintain it."

"The 10 consultants who will study contemporary American life to determine the conditions under which a free society best may be maintained, are: Adolph A. Berle, former Assistant Secretary of State; Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief and publisher of Time, Life, Fortune, Sports Illustrated and House and Home; Scott Buchanan, former dean of St. John's College; [redacted] professor at the University of California; [redacted] Princeton University history professor; Clark Kerr, chancellor of the University of California; the Rev. John Courtney Murray, theology professor at Woodstock College, Maryland; Isidor I. Rabi, Nobel Prize physicist; Robert Redfield, University of Chicago anthropologist, and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, one of the world's leading Protestant theologians."

Following are brief summaries of information contained in FBI files concerning each of the above-named individuals:

Adolph A. Berle, Jr. Berle is an attorney in the City of New York and a professor at Columbia University. He was Assistant Secretary of State from 1939 to 1944 and Ambassador to Brazil in 1945 and 1946. Berle has not been investigated by the FBI and has been anticommunist in the past.

Scott Buchanan. Buchanan was the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by the FBI in 1944 which developed no derogatory information. At that time he listed as references Robert M. Hutchins and Stringfellow Barr, both educators regarding whom the FBI has no derogatory information. In 1947, during a speech, Buchanan stated, "I am not an active member of the Communist Party, but we all have a little communism in us and we can't denounce it." The

RECORDED - 86

CONFIDENTIAL

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

JUN 21 3 43 PM '57

JUN 25 1957

MAILED 31
JUN 21 1957

COMM-FBI

Olson
Nichols
Boardman
Belmont
Rosen
Mohr
Parsons
Sullivan
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
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51 JUN 25 1957

The Attorney General

"Daily Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, in its issue of February 2, 1953, reported that one Dr. Scott Buchanan, among others, had been named to membership on the Academic Freedom Panel at the final session of the week-end conference called by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in New York City.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has been cited as an organization devised to make special appeals in behalf of civil liberties to defend the cases of communist law-breakers, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, page 91.

[redacted] has not been investigated by the FBI. In 1951 he was the subject of an investigation conducted by the U. S. Naval Intelligence, which revealed that some of his associates, references and a brother, [redacted] were then or had previously been members of Communist Party fronts.

[redacted] has not been investigated by the FBI. During a lecture at Montclair, New Jersey, on December 8, 1947 [redacted] reportedly spoke of the United States in a derogatory manner and continually praised the Russians.

Clark Kerr. Kerr was the subject of applicant-type investigations conducted by the FBI in 1947 and in 1952-53. Investigations revealed that while lecturing in December, 1943, Kerr reportedly discussed the failures of capitalism in the United States and praised Russia, through which he traveled in 1939. In June, 1944, Kerr, as a member of the War Labor Board, presided at a round-table discussion held at Reed College, Oregon, at which many known Communist Party members were reportedly present. In November, 1945, one George C. Eltenton was observed at the residence of Hervey Voge, Berkeley, California, with whom the Kerrs temporarily resided. Eltenton has admitted his attempts to secure atomic information for Russia. There is no indication he was acquainted with Kerr. In February, 1952, an acquaintance of Kerr described him as a "liberal and fellow traveler," but had no reason to question his reputation or loyalty. The FFR in its three-year report dated June, 1956, listed Kerr as a member of its Commission on Race and Housing, designed to study the housing of minority groups.

The Attorney General

Henry R. Luce. Luce has not been investigated by the FBI. He was very active in the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) from 1938 through 1946 as a member of the board of trustees, and was one of the vice chairmen in 1946. Luce was also listed as a member of the FPR's Commission on Race and Housing in its three-year report of June, 1956.

"The IPR was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American far eastern policies toward Communist objectives." "Members of the small corps of officials and staff members who controlled IPR were either Communist or pro-Communist," according to the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Report Number 2050 on the IPR, July 2, 1952, pages 223 and 225.

Reverend John Courtney Murray. Reverend Murray has not been investigated by the FBI and our files contain no pertinent identifiable information regarding him.

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr. Niebuhr is dean of the faculty, Union Theological Seminary, New York City, and has been affiliated with this institution since 1928. The FBI conducted a special inquiry of Niebuhr in 1942 for the Office for Emergency Management and a full-field loyalty investigation in 1951-52 in connection with his appointment as a consultant for the State Department. These investigations disclosed that Niebuhr had been identified as a member, endorser, or supporter of a large number of organizations cited as communist fronts extending over a period of approximately twenty years. His activities included serving as editorial advisor for the "Protestant Digest," which was cited in 1944 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a magazine which had faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal. He was a registered member of the Socialist Party in New York in the late 1930's and later became affiliated with the American Labor Party and the Liberal Party. He was one of the founders of Americans for Democratic Action in 1947, and was elected to the national board of that organization at its convention held on March 31, 1957.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities House Report 1311, March 29, 1944, page 78, reflects that "For years, the communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control."

The Attorney General

The Liberal Party is a recognized political party in the State of New York.

Louis Budenz advised in 1952 that he had known Niebuhr slightly since 1935 and had no knowledge that Niebuhr was ever a Communist Party member. Budenz related, however, that he had heard Niebuhr make many statements which Budenz considered to be procommunist. Budenz said that he could recall no other person who was affiliated with as many communist fronts as was Niebuhr and was not a member of the Communist Party. On October 19, 1947, John Gates, then editor of the "Daily Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, delivered a speech at a Communist Party conference in New York City, during which he described Niebuhr as one of the most notorious "red-baiters" and anticommunists in the country.

Niebuhr was one of the signers of an "open letter to President Truman," dated May 15, 1951. The letter was very critical of the United States Government's loyalty program.

The "Daily Worker" of July 29, 1955, reported that Niebuhr had written to the United States Parole Board, urging the release of a Communist Party official who was then serving a two-year prison sentence following a conviction for a violation of the Smith Act.

Isidor Isaac Rabi. Rabi was the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by the FBI in 1947 which revealed no derogatory information other than he gave as a reference Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, an atomic scientist whose security clearance was revoked by the Atomic Energy Commission in 1954. Rabi was reinvestigated by the FBI in 1954, and it was determined that he had associated with persons who were alleged to be communists, but these associations appeared to have been of a professional nature. In September, 1947, Rabi was the signer of a letter which was critical of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and in defense of the American-Soviet Science Society. Rabi was also investigated by the Office of Special Investigations in 1953 as a result of an allegation that he had a "Moscow background." However, that investigation failed to substantiate the allegation.

The American-Soviet Science Society has been cited as an affiliate of a communist front organization by the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Attorney General

Committee on Un-American Activities, Report to the Full Committee of the Special Subcommittee on National Security of the Committee on Un-American Activities, March 18, 1948, pages 5 and 6.

Robert Redfield. Redfield has not been investigated by the FBI. He has reportedly expressed himself as opposed to attempts by the United States to hide the secret of the atomic bomb and has opposed universal military training. He has advocated world government, has been connected with programs sponsored by communist front groups, and has been an associate of one [redacted], who was reportedly an active Communist Party member.

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1 - Mr. William P. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

- 5 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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New Fund Inquiry

By John Herling



"LITTLE MAN, what now?" again becomes the country's most urgent question.

Scientists can worry about the challenges of the geophysical year which opened yesterday. What the average American and his family fret about, consciously or not, are the social and anti-social pressures that constantly move in on him—to determine whether he is a man or a mouse.

Putting it in other terms, the Fund for the Republic—created by the Ford Foundation—says it will now "undertake an

inquiry into the impact of two major U. S. institutions—the industrial corporation and the labor union—on individual freedom and civil liberty in America."

Fund President Robert M. Hutchins says that the corporation and the labor union are institutions "which may affect the individual for good or ill quite as intimately as big government does. The United States is now a nation of employees, with more than 75% of the working force employed by the corporations. Almost 16 million workers are members of unions."

The labor union project will be headed by Clark Kerr,

chancellor of the University of California. Mr. Kerr is a key figure in industrial relations, with important service on the War, Labor and Stabilization boards and various Presidential fact-finding bodies.

The industrial corporation project will be directed by Adolph A. Berle, professor of corporation law at Columbia University and former assistant Secretary of State.

Basic question which will have to be faced by the consultants on these and other projects will be the effect on the character of the "organization man", the pressures and disciplines which frequently cause the psychological as well as economic entrapment of the individual.

According to Mr. Hutchins, the labor union project will examine the relation between the union and its membership, between the union and the community, the implications for individual rights of collective bargaining practices, terms of union contracts, size of the bargaining unit and other factors.

Along parallel lines, the industrial corporation project will try to "appraise" the corporation's impact on its employees in certain "traditional" areas: freedom of speech, association and political activity. Also, hopefully, it aims to develop a comprehensive body of opinions on the proper relationship between employer and employee.

Wash. Post and _____
Times Herald _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald _____
Tribune _____
N. Y. Journal-_____
American _____
Y. Mirror _____
N. Y. Daily News _____
N. Y. Times _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

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JUL 5 1957

JUL 2 1957
Date _____

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: June 19, 1957

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

SYNOPSIS:

Remymemo 6/19/57 reflecting that the FFR announced it had enlisted 10 distinguished Americans in a 7-million-dollar search for the definition of a free society and the means to maintain it. My memo set forth brief summaries concerning 8 of the consultants named to the Fund's project. The review of Bufiles have been completed concerning the remaining two consultants, who are identified below.

Adolph A. Berle, Jr., New York attorney and former Secretary of State, has not been investigated by the Bureau. Our files indicate he has been friendly with the Bureau, a good Bureau contact and has frequently expressed high regard for the Director and the FBI. However, in November, 1953, Berle allegedly made a statement to the effect that the Director should be replaced.

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, dean of the faculty of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, was the subject of an applicant-type investigation by Bureau in 1942 and a loyalty investigation in 1951-52, which revealed that for approximately 20 years he had been connected with a large number of cited communist fronts. According to an unidentified source Niebuhr's name appeared on a list of Communist Party members, Chicago, Illinois, prior to 1942; however, Niebuhr not known to have resided there. In May, 1951, Niebuhr was signer of a letter criticizing the Director, the Government's loyalty program, and the Bureau's participation therein. In July, 1955, Niebuhr wrote to the U.S. Parole Board urging the release of a Communist Party official convicted of Smith Act violation. In April, 1957, he wrote a letter to the Director taking exception to a publicized statement by the Director. Niebuhr's letter was not acknowledged by the Bureau.

ACTION:

None. For your information. A summary is also being sent/to the Department separately.
 P:vep (8) (the Attorney General and Rogers).

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Short
- 1 - Mr. Onsgard
- 1 - Section
- 1 - Mr. Young

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7 JUL 19 1957

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Memorandum Belmont to Boardman
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETAILS:

By memorandum dated June 19, 1957, you were advised that the Fund for the Republic has announced it had enlisted 10 distinguished Americans in a 7-million-dollar search for the definition of a free society and the means to obtain it. My memo set forth brief summaries concerning 8 of the consultants to this project. The review of Bureau files has been completed regarding the remaining two consultants to the project, who are identified below.

ADOLPH A. BERLE, JR.

Adolph A. Berle, Jr., born 1/29/95, is an attorney in the City of New York and a professor at Columbia University. Berle was formerly Assistant Secretary of State (1938-44) and Ambassador to Brazil (1945-46). No investigation has been conducted on Berle by the Bureau but the Bureau files contain voluminous references concerning him. A review of previously prepared summaries reflects that Berle has been anticommunist and was a good contact of the Bureau, both while at the State Department and during the time he was Ambassador to Brazil. There has been considerable friendly correspondence between the Bureau and Berle and he has frequently expressed a high regard for the Director and the FBI. However, it is to be noted that in November, 1953, [redacted] a New York exporter, alleged that a group of "Jewish liberals" were desirous of taking over the Director's job. [redacted] alleged that about 8 or 9 months before that time he had overheard a conversation in which Adolph Berle reportedly said the Director of the FBI should be replaced. (62-60527-32541; 100-385029-23; 94-4-3869) HAO

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DR. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Niebuhr is dean of the faculty, Union Theological Seminary, New York City, and has been affiliated with this institution since 1928. He is an ordained minister of the Evangelical Synod of North America and is widely regarded as one of the foremost theologians in the United States. He is a native of Wright City, Missouri, born 1892, and is a present resident of New York City. Because of his long-standing prominence in socialist and other left-wing political circles he has been described as a "Christian revolutionary." He was a registered member of the Socialist Party in New York in the late 1930's and later became affiliated successively with the American

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum Belmont to Boardman
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Labor Party and the Liberal Party. He was one of the founders of "Americans for Democratic Action" in 1947, and was elected to the national board of that organization at its convention on March 31, 1957. (100-348196-122, enclosure page 101; 100-348196A, "Washington Post," 4/1/57)

The Bureau conducted a special inquiry of Niebuhr for the Office ~~for~~ Emergency Management in 1942, and a full-field loyalty investigation of Niebuhr in 1951-52 in connection with his appointment as a consultant for the United States State Department. These investigations, while largely favorable as to Niebuhr's loyalty, disclosed that he had been identified by various reliable sources as a member, endorser, or supporter of a large number of organizations, cited as communist fronts, extending over a period of approximately 20 years. His activities during this period included serving as editorial advisor for the "Protestant Digest," which was cited in 1944 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a magazine which had faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal. (62-82828-72, page 34; 77-17305; 121-33418)

An informant, not further identified, whose reliability is unknown, reported that sometime prior to 1942 Niebuhr's name appeared on a list of alleged Communist Party members, Chicago, Illinois. There is no indication that Niebuhr has ever resided in Chicago. (121-33418-12, page 4)

Louis Budenz advised in 1952 that he had known Niebuhr slightly since 1935, and had no knowledge that Niebuhr was ever a Communist Party member. Budenz related, however, that he had heard Niebuhr make many statements which Budenz considered to be pro-communist. Budenz said that he could recall no other person affiliated with as many communist fronts as he knew Niebuhr to have been, who was not in fact a member of the Communist Party. (121-33418-18)

On the other hand, on 10/19/47, John Gates, then editor of the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, delivered a speech at a Communist Party conference at New York City in which he described Niebuhr as one of the most notorious red-baiters and anticommunists in the country. [redacted] 100-3-2209) b7D [u]

Niebuhr was one of the signers of an "open letter to President Truman," dated 5/15/51. The letter was very critical of

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Memorandum Belmont to Boardman
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

the United States Government's loyalty program and of the Bureau's part therein. It rehearsed the "Palmer raids" and criticized the Director. (100-380602-4)

Among Niebuhr's most recent activities the following are typical:

On February 20, 1955, Niebuhr (among others) sent "greetings and enthusiastic endorsement" to a group organized to combat "McCarthyism." (100-416922-19, page 5)

The "Daily Worker" of July 29, 1955, reported that Niebuhr had written to the United States Parole Board urging the release of Jacob Mindel, Communist Party official, then serving a two-year prison sentence following conviction of a violation of the Smith Act. (100-52439A)

On April 8, 1957, Niebuhr wrote a letter to the Director in which he branded as "completely wrong" the designation of A. J. Muste as a man who had fronted for communists, which had been included in a recent public statement by the Director. Niebuhr's letter was not acknowledged. (100-16922-41) JGS

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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April 3, 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-8-89 BY SP8 BSI/MLP

Dear

This note is an after thought. I had intended to include in my first letter to you an item that I believe you might be interested in that pertains to our telephone discussion just prior to your departure.

I was fortunate to obtain from Burdick's file some statements in regard to the project funded by Fund for The Republic monies. A letter dated March 27, 1957 from a Walter Millis to Burdick outlines the following purposes for the project that Burdick had in mind when he accepted a consultant-ship with the Fund for the Republic. Walter Millis's letter states substantially as follows:

A project to clarify the basic issues raised by government, considered as an institution to provide for the common defense, in respect to individual freedom.

The project will be Dr. Kabi and Mr. [redacted] will be Dr. Kabi and Mr. [redacted] staff assistant, Walter Millis.

It is proposed to initiate work in five general areas:

- 1) A survey of the minimum requirements of the national defense, the unavoidable necessities in terms of military measures, civil defense, defenses against subversion, against espionage and sabotage, governmental secrecy, etc.
- 2) A survey of the impact on individual freedom of military manpower policies -- the draft and reserve acts, deferment, educational measures, etc.
- 3) A survey of the problem of sedition, of the legal, statutory and other measures directed toward its suppression, their practical and historic backgrounds and their impact upon individual freedom.
- 4) A survey of governmental secrecy and of counter-espionage activities of police and intelligence agencies, from the point of view of their necessity, efficacy and their impact on individual freedom.

5) A review of the extensive work already in existence in the system of personnel security screening.

I have also included a copy of the report that I mentioned in letter one which is self explanatory. Later in the week I will have a completed run-down on most of the people mentioned there in together with whatever background information may be available in the local files.

There are several of the names in the report about which the informant was not clear. Some of these I can fill in for you now.

The ~~Jim~~ Burnett or ~~Barnett~~ referred to is known to us as Jim Burnett and the person referred to as ~~Bernie~~ Gardea is ~~Bernie~~ ~~Spiro~~ aka ~~Bernie~~ Gardia. (true spelling)

The Justin mentioned on page 2 is Justin Grossman who is an executive board member of ISL and is the replacement for our old friend Arlon Tussing.

~~Yetta~~ ~~Barshevsky~~, aka ~~Barsh~~, travels throughout the country with ~~Mary~~ ~~Schachtman~~. ~~Fritjof~~ ~~Nygeson~~ is a graduate student at University of California, Berkeley, and is running for graduate representative. He hails from University of Chicago and I understand has been a close friend of the late Abrams.

Incidentally he may find it a little difficult to run for election as graduate representative since I have had an opportunity to discuss him with the Dean of the Graduate Division.

~~Yetta~~ ~~Barshevsky~~ copy of the Daily Californian article which is self explanatory. I have also included other information mentioned in the attached report.

With kindest personal regards.

[Redacted]
Security Officer

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Daily Californian

MONARCH OF THE COLLEGE DAILIES

Vol. 162

Berkeley, California, Friday, March 29, 1957

No. 43

Vice-president, graduate rep post application deadline is extended

Applications may still be filed for positions of ASUC first vice-president and graduate representative, to be filed in the ASUC spring elections, April 15 and 17.

At present only one person has filed for each of the offices—Scott Sherman, first vice-president and Fritiof Thygeson, graduate representative.

ns also re-

Roger Samuelson have declared their candidacy for the position of ASUC president.

Barbara Hale and Colette Morgan have filed for the office of

DC election forms

Today is the last day for candidates to pick up elections forms in the Daily Californian office, 12 Eshleman hall.

All candidates for Executive committee positions and

in order to have their photographs appear in the DC supplement.

Absolute deadline for turning in the forms is 5 a.m. Wednesday. Pictures, 7 x 10 glossy, must be taken or turned into ASUC Photography on or before Wednesday.

ASUC second vice-president. This office is limited to a woman student by the ASUC constitution.

Eleven students have filed for the

four available positions of representative-at-large. They are: Joe Griffin, Charles Hines, Ted Kasmer, Warren Levin, John Mahoney, Allan Median, Tom Ready, George Reichert, Dave Rodriguez, Jean Shinoda and Bill Stricklin.

Barton Moir has withdrawn his candidacy.

Four persons have filed for the office of permanent senior class president. They are Bert Barker, Seymour Hertz, Mike Lenachau and Lee Wilson.

Petitions are still being received for the senior class council, yell leader, song leader and members of the class council.

Steve Cook, Elections council chairman, reminded seniors that they may file for both an office and the council. Full details regarding the procedure if both positions are won may be obtained in the Elections Council office in 2 Eshleman hall.

Other students who have filed for class offices are Mike Davis, Dan Lubbock and Al Van Noy, for sophomore class president; Ron Edmondson, Jim Ring and Rick Rudd, for junior class president; and Dick Dahlinger and Carl McKowan, for senior class president.

Other positions for which petitions are still being taken are sophomore, junior and senior class yell leaders, and junior class vice-president and secretary-treasurer.

Elections council also stressed that candidates must take the qualifications test to be given on April 8 at a still undetermined time and place. Candidates were also warned that they must follow the provisions as set forth in the revised election rules regarding campaigning and campaigning materials.

Candidates may pick up copies of the revised election rules in the Elections office, 2 Eshleman hall.

change
Previously
an office was held open only until the minimum number of petitioners filed.

Now, however, offices for which the minimum number of candidates had not filed by last Wednesday will be held open until the new deadline, regardless of the number who may file.

Ted Boone, Ken Kragen and

Received 26 March 1957

Filed: Report File I-243

March 19, 1957

Report on Young Socialist League: Trip to Los Angeles from 3/14/57 to 3/16/57

On 3/14/57 at approximately ten p.m. Jim Robertson, Roger Plumb, Dave Lucas and Jerry Abel left Berkeley headed for Los Angeles in Robertson's auto, a former sedan light brown-orchid solid, BPA 883 Calif. 1957 plate.

Arrival Los Angeles 12 noon 3/15 Friday, headed for Venice district for cheap rooms. Registered in Halby Hotel 764 Market Street, Venice; telephone BRink 67535, room 15; signed for by Abel listed as Berkeley resident. Lucas took separate room 22. Both rooms on third floor.

Staid until 3 p.m. Friday, March 15th.

Went to 709 Boccaccio Venice L A to visit one Jim Burnett or Barnett. Is probably presently registered student at Loyola University; went through some kind of threat or action recently for his activities. Jim Burnett: about 6' 1 1/2" lbs., dark wavy hair, ruddy complexion sometimes, especially when excited. Is 'Organizer' of the Los Angeles Branch of the ISL or YSL, probably the former. Position one of title only; the guy is 19 or 20 years old, very excitable, has few formed opinions, is easily persuaded one way or another; very susceptible to pressure.

Burnett called around to arrange for meetings between Robertson and the YSL. Went to see him, going to the YSL.

At a considerable time that evening, was one Berni Gardia, and spelling of last name but this it accurately address 1700 17th Avenue, San Diego boulevard area. They (Gardia and his new wife/mistress) have moved to this address. Gardia 6'2", 160 lbs, dark hair, eyes, thin, excitable, likes to rough uncultured usages, but politically informed. Traces of a light mustache under lip, otherwise clean-shaven. Vera (Gardia?) about 5'5", 120 lbs, dark hair, eyes, speaks with Mexican-Spanish accent although born in LA according to her; speaks fairly fluent Spanish. Gardia (not Vera, however) was member of the Vern faction which split off two years ago. Gardia member of the LA branch.

Stayed at Gardia's until 2 am Saturday 16th March, arguing. Returned to hotel, slept until 9 am Saturday.

Saturday, March 16th, 9am went out to breakfast. Lucas got up earlier and the others, telephoned to Duran Bell in San Diego, contacted Bell's mother; unable to make contact with Bell.

Went together in car to visit Karl Feingold at SWP headquarters, 2702 West 4th Street, LA. Feingold is organizer for SWP locally. Has set up the SWP headquarters as a legal bookshop; claims to have friendly relations with local branch of the LA police. Is having trouble from frequent forays of teenagers breaking in, writing on walls, throwing things around. Wall writings include 'the red hand gang.' Feingold is having one of the members (who seems to be a welder by trade, or something close to it) make up barred grates for the windows to stop that sort of thing. Feingold: 28 years of age (acc. to Robertson). Beginning to get bald in front. About 5'11", 155 lbs., dirty brown hair, light brown eyes. Frequently uses word "yeah" in conversation.

(OVER)

Garcia is about 30-32 yrs., Vera has a child, male, 10 years old, not clear if he lives there or not; doubt it.

Burnett has a speech defect, a slight lisp; also talks with effeminate voice although I was assured by Robertson that his emotional adjustment is normal in this respect. Saw Burnett earlier in day, also telephoned him to set up meeting for Sunday.

Went to 19 W. 57. I think in Venice, about 2 pm Sat 16 March to see Arlon Tussing. Revised description Tussing: about 30, 5'6", 145 lbs., light complexion, large boned, painted expression on face, most of the time can be seen, one or two other. Tussing was or was undergoing court-martial proceedings in US Army. He is living with a young girl, slim, dark hair, very quiet. They were in the process of moving to So. Calif. Tussing is driving a newish Ford for long distance, medium blue, 1964-65 model, not older than that. Did not see plates. Tussing to learn. Tussing's court-martial was ordered at Fort Ord. Possibly moved there.

Went to visit one Arne Swabeck, (Berkeley four only) who lives at 1003 Longwood, Los Angeles. Swabeck of Danish descent, about 60, 65 yrs., 5'8", 145 lbs., white hair, light blue eyes, alert expression, quite cultured appearance. Is one of the second-string leaders of the SP in the US; has frequent contacts with James Cannon who is living somewhere in a place called 'the Casero' which is a 70 mile drive from L.A.

About 5 p.m. went to Socialist Party headquarters in Los Angeles for an address by Max Shachtman. Present besides the Berkeley 4: Shachtman, previously described. Speaker. Tuckoff alias Enright. Man about 30 yrs., 5'6", 145 lbs., dark hair, rough clothing; suffering from throat trouble.

Went to see Max Shachtman to see if he could be of any use to the party or meeting.

Cecil Cohen, brother of Barney Cohen.
Justin. YSL or ISL member. Married.
Wife of Justin: Jackie Grossman. Have seen her in the Bay Area and at Thompson, Fritjof: member of SP of the Bay Area.
Arlon Tussing.

Wife or mistress of the latter.
Yetta Bershevsky (referred to me by Robertson that this person was, I was unable to distinguish her.)

Wife of Ted Enright (Tuckoff).
Yudkoff drives a Willys 'Jeppster' Auto, light grey in color.

Ed Ross. Drives auto license number MUW didn't see figures. Makes living driving around the LA freeways at night, photographing auto accidents and selling the photos to the drivers of the involved cars.

Father of a girl by the name of Charlotte Albright, registered at the University of California in Berkeley. The father, who is an SP member, is about 60, 65 maybe, greying hair, small in stature and build, about 5'6" tall, 145 lbs., stooped shoulders, light blue eyes, slow speech, rather slow thinking.

Justin: physical description: about 5'11" tall, high forehead, maybe 165; high forehead appearance due to receding hairline. This guy has just come out of the Army, he had a very successful career there and intended to into the study of law sometime soon, or the practice of it; just which of these is true is not clear. He is a fellow who has been around the political movement for some time, is about 30 years old. Robertson regards him as one of the most intelligent and capable of the LA people in the ISL-YSL.

Jackie Grossman: physical description: About 30, thin, 5'6", 130 lbs., dark hair done up in a pony tail with a silver band around the tail, hair fine. Features: thin angular face, moderate amount of makeup, but not excessive.

Features rather harsh. Voice poorly modulated, comes out in a rather sharp fashion. Intellectually pretty poor. I have come across this woman here in the area in Robbins, and also sometime in Larry Blake's restaurant. It is also possible that I saw her in the University of Chicago in 1952.

Thygeson, Tussing, Tussing's companion, already described, as is Enright, Yetta Barshevsky; not identified except by name.

~~Ed Ross~~: About 30. Tough guy type, very small build, short, dark hair, very nasty expression, dark eyes.

Bernie Garden and Vera _____ come in late. Previously described. After the break-up of the meeting, Garden, Vera, Ed Ross, Robertson, Jerry, and Dave Lucas and Roger Plumb drove in three cars (Robertson's, Ross', and Garden's) to the home of one Ruth Chester. R. Chester described by Robertson as a stalinoid (this means someone who was not a CP member but sympathetic; a stalinist is a CPer or an ex-CPer.) who is a member of the local (Los Angeles) YSL, and who is not at all sympathetic to the ruling hands there (Enright, Tussing, Justin.)

Sitonen: SP member, one of the bigs of the SP, who is in the administration of the SP. He is supposed to be one of the SP political guardians in the sense that he is the one to make the final expulsion possible of those that threaten to take over the leadership of the party by a majority election. Tall, thin, dark, quiet, smokes a pipe. No first name given. This fellow had a long conversation with R. Plumb, who is of Finnish extraction.

Address of R. Chester (Ruth): 5072 west 20th, LA, tel. Webster 8 1927. The person was not at home; female baby-sitter answered the door, we did not enter. _____ went to go home. Ed Ross driving his own car and Robert _____

_____ coffee and hamburger _____ by Ross as _____ to L.A. area; Ross arguing with Robert _____ the Schachtman _____ Rose pretty generally goes along with the majority of the LA group on this. Broke up around two a.m. Ross to go to work, Robertson et al to return to the hotel and to bed in preparation for the day to follow.

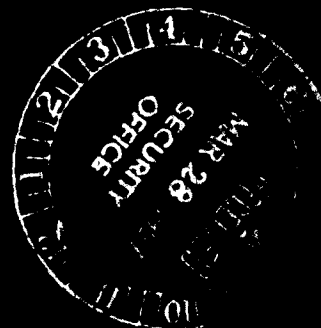
Sunday, March 17th: Up at Eleven. Plumb and Abel went for coffee to a drugstore, while Robertson wrote up a prepared address to give at the YSL joint meeting to be held in the afternoon. Lucas up a bit later, joined Abel and Plumb for coffee. Plum saw Schachtman and Yetta Barshevsky walking along the beach-front; they too had been staying in Venice because of the cheapness of accommodations there.

Abel phoned R. Chester repeatedly to establish contact for Robertson. Finally man named Ron answered. No relationship given. R. Chester has _____ who was just in hospital somewhere in or around LA. She has been married _____

At about 2 p.m. Berkeley group went in car to home of Jim Barnett, there to home of Jinny Baird and husband. Barnett changed a check thro (Jinny Baird--I don't know if that is his or her last name). We then _____ coffee. Picked up Tussing along the way.

4 p.m. went to headquarters of the YSL. Present: Robertson, Plumb, Lucas, Tussing, Enright (Yudkoff), Jinny Baird, Sam Roth and Mrs. Roth (lives in San Pedro; arrived late). Ex-members of the SWP (at least he was) and _____ to the Vern group. Vern is the Party rather than the actual name of the individual who engineered the split-off from the SWP. Roth is the fellow _____ one of those who visited Berkeley in early 1954 to make contact with the _____ here after the split.

Solomon, brother of Barney, Earlight's wife, Jackie Grossman, a wild looking, unintelligent, loud talker, unable to hear. Described as a 'Goldmanite' later by Robertson. At 36, dark unkempt hair, lined face, heavy makeup unskillfully applied. Loud colors with a poor eye for their assembly. Ed Ross. Absent. Mr. Mary Gander. Also present; another woman, unidentified, and I did not have chance to look in her direction even once.



Jan

OFFICE MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: June 12, 1957

FROM : R. R. Roach

SUBJECT: RUNNING MEMORANDA MAINTAINED
IN THE LIAISON SECTION

The purpose of this memorandum is to call to your attention the number of running memoranda presently maintained in the Liaison Section and to recommend that some of these be discontinued due to the fact that there is no valid reason for their continued maintenance.

There are thirteen running memoranda maintained in the Liaison Section identified as follows, and grouped as those which it is felt could be discontinued and those which should be continued:

Memoranda Which Could be DiscontinuedHistory of Relations, Assistant Chief
of Staff, IntelligenceLack of Cooperation, Assistant Chief
of Staff, IntelligenceHistory of Relations, Office of
Special InvestigationsLack of Cooperation, Office of
Special InvestigationsHistory of Relations, Office of
Naval IntelligenceLack of Cooperation, Office of
Naval Intelligence

History of Relations, Atomic Energy Commission

Lack of Cooperation, Central Intelligence Agency

The memoranda pertaining to our relations with other agencies, namely, Army, Air Force, Navy, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) were started many years ago when either our relations with them were not completely amicable or well-established, or the agencies were new. These memoranda served a very useful purpose in the past, but it has been noted in more recent years there has been little or no reference to them.

Memoranda To Be Continued

Fund for the Republic

Highlights of Seat of
Government Defense Plans
for Chain of CommandBrief of Bureau Relocation
PlansDomestic Intelligence
Division Defense PlansHistory of Relations,
Central Intelligence
Agency57 JUL 9 1957
RRR:mis (5)1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Medler
1-Mr. Roach
1-TicklerALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-8-89 BY DP2253100-391687-✓
NOT RECORDED

145 JUL 5 1957

RECEIVED BY MAIL

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 66-1835-1413

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
Re: Running Memoranda Maintained
In the Liaison Section

They, of course, have been kept up to date at all times. Keeping them up to date in effect is duplication of effort because nearly all of the factual data contained in these briefs are also contained in main files on the agencies involved or in individual case files. Such running memoranda are worthwhile and justifiable only if they serve an active and current need. Existing relations with Army, Air Force, Navy, CIA and AEC are such that through liaison we are able to avoid the causes of conflict and to handle all matters that arise promptly, not permitting them to drag out and possibly cause trouble.

The memoranda pertaining to the histories of our relations with other agencies, with the exception of that memorandum pertaining to CIA, have outlived their usefulness. Although our relations with CIA are now satisfactory, this agency has extremely varied, extensive, and involved operations which present many fields of potential conflicts and differences. Therefore, it is felt that this particular memorandum (History of Relations, Central Intelligence Agency) should be continued for the time being. In view of current conditions, the need for many of the memoranda is not the same as when they were originated. By clearing out certain "deadwood" among our needed memoranda, we will be bringing our operations up to date and at the same time practice needed manpower economy.

The material maintained in the various running memoranda will not be destroyed, but will be put in the main file on each of the agencies where it can be readily referred to, and if the need should arise in the future the material can be quickly brought up to date.

RECOMMENDATION:

In view of the foregoing, it is recommended:

- (1) That the following running memoranda be discontinued:

History of Relations, Assistant Chief
of Staff, Intelligence

Lack of Cooperation, Assistant Chief of
Staff, Intelligence

History of Relations, Office of Special
Investigations

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
Re: Running Memoranda Maintained
In the Liaison Section

Recommendation #1 continued:

Lack of Cooperation, Office of Special
Investigations

History of Relations, Office of Naval
Intelligence

Lack of Cooperation, Office of Naval
Intelligence

History of Relations, Atomic Energy
Commission

Lack of Cooperation, Central Intelligence
Agency

(2) That the following memoranda be retained in the
Liaison Section:

Fund for the Republic

Highlights of Seat of Government Defense
Plans for Chain of Command

Brief of Bureau Relocation Plans

Domestic Intelligence Division Defense Plans

History of Relations, Central Intelligence
Agency

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: June 19, 1957

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mason _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

According to the 6/14/57 issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald," the FFR announced that it had enlisted 10 distinguished Americans in a 7-million-dollar search for the definition of a free society and the means to maintain it. The 10 consultants, who will study contemporary American life to determine the conditions under which a free society best may be maintained, are identified below, together with a brief summary of Bufiles concerning each. In view of extensive file reviews involved, separate summaries are being prepared on Adolph A. Berle, former Assistant Secretary of State, and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Protestant theologian, named as consultants to this project. \ attached

Dr. Scott Buchanan, born in Sprague, Washington, 3/17/95, former dean at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, was the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by the Bureau in 1944 which developed nothing derogatory. It is noted, however, that at that time he listed as references Robert M. Hutchins and Stringfellow Barr, both educators on whom the Bureau has subversive derogatory information. In September, 1951, Buchanan was placed on the list of persons not to be contacted without prior Bureau authority, based on an interview with him in a Selective Service matter, during which he stated he is a "conscientious objector to the FBI." He also said he did not care to give any information to the FBI in view of the fact that he did not like the way the FBI used information in its possession. In 1947, at a Progressive Citizens of America meeting, Buchanan stated, "I am not an active member of the Communist Party, but we all have a little communism in us and we can't denounce it." On October 17, 1947, Buchanan reportedly stated: "FBI Agents had approached GI freshmen at Wesleyan College and had asked them to spy and report on their classmates and faculty." The "Daily Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, in its issue of 2/2/53 reported that one Dr. Scott Buchanan, among others, had been named on the Academic Freedom Panel at the final session of the week-end conference called by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at the Hotel Brevoort in New York City. (69-92201-2; 100-352089-4; 105-35690-30)

Per: awj (6)
 1 - Nichols
 1 - Boardman
 1 - Belmont
 1 - section
 1 - Young

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8/22/85 BY 9145-01-10

7 JUL 19 1957

57 JUL 25 1957

248999
 208 BTJ/08 88-89

100-391671-470

Belmont to Boardman
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

[redacted]
[redacted] professor at the University of California, born [redacted] at [redacted] has not been investigated by Bureau. The U.S. Naval Intelligence investigated him in 1951, revealing that some associates, references and/brother, [redacted] were then or had previously been members of Communist Party (CP) fronts. (100-391422)

b6
b7C

[redacted] professor at Princeton University, born [redacted], has not been investigated by Bureau. Bufiles reflect that during a lecture at Montclair, New Jersey, on 12/8/47, [redacted] reportedly spoke of the U.S. in a derogatory manner and continually praised the Russians. (100-353713-1)

b6
b7C

Clark Kerr, Chancellor of the University of California since 1952, born 5/17/11, Reading, Pennsylvania, was the subject of applicant-type investigations conducted by Bureau in 1947 and 1952-53. Investigations revealed Kerr, while lecturing in December, 1943, reportedly discussed the failures of capitalism in the U.S. and praised Russia, through which he traveled in 1939. In June, 1944, Kerr, as War Labor Board member, presided at a round table discussion at Reed College, Oregon, at which many known CP members were reportedly present. In November, 1945, one George C. Eltenton was observed by Bureau Agents at the residence of Hervey Voge, Berkeley, California, with whom the Kerrs his temporarily resided. Eltenton has admitted to Bureau of attempts to secure atomic information for Russia. There is no indication he was acquainted with Kerr. In February, 1952, an acquaintance described Kerr as a "liberal and fellow traveler" based on Kerr's associations; however, he had no reason to question Kerr's reputation or loyalty. The FFR in its 3-year report, June, 1956, identified Kerr as a member of its Commission on Race and Housing designed to study the housing of minority groups. (116-325)

Henry R. Luce, prominent editor and publisher,* has not been investigated by Bureau. Bufiles indicate Luce was very active in the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) from 1933 through 1946 as a member of the board of trustees and as one of the vice chairmen in 1946. In July, 1952, a Senate Judiciary Committee investigating the IPR held that organization to be communist infiltrated. It is noted that Luce is also a member of the FFR's Commission on Race and Housing. (77-55348-18; 100-391697-400)

*His publications, "Time" and "Life," are of an anticommunist nature.

Belmont to Boardman
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR) *W*

Reverend John Courtney Murray, Catholic clergyman, born 9/12/04, New York City, professor of theology at Woodstock, College, Maryland, since 1937, has not been investigated by the Bureau, and our files contain nothing derogatory concerning him.

u s
Isidor Isaac Rabi, Nobel Prize physicist, born 7/29/98, Rymanow, Austria, was the subject of an applicant-type investigation by Bureau in 1947, revealing nothing derogatory other than he gave as a reference Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, atomic scientist whose security clearance was revoked by the Atomic Energy Commission in 1954. He was reinvestigated by the Bureau in 1954, which determined that he had associated with persons who were allegedly communists; however, these associations appear to be of a professional nature. In September, 1947, Rabi was the signer of a letter critical of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and in defense of the American-Soviet Science Society (cited by HCUA). Rabi was investigated by Office of Special Investigations in 1953 on allegation he had a "Moscow background"; however, investigation failed to substantiate allegation. (116-1253)

Robert Redfield, born 12/4/97, Chicago, Illinois, an anthropologist associated for many years with the University of Chicago, has not been investigated by Bureau. Our files reflect he was an associate of one J. V. Murra, who was an active CP member. Redfield has reportedly expressed himself as opposed to attempts of the U.S. to hide the secret of the atom bomb and opposed to universal military training. He has advocated world government and has been connected with programs sponsored by communist front groups. (62-60527-14310, 38730, 45826; 133-185-11)

ACTION:

separately None. For your information. A summary also being sent to the Department. (the Attorney General and Rogers).

W *✓* *---*

3 *W* *W*

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. M. Belmont

DATE: July 15, 1957

FROM : Mr. B. R. Roach

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-8-89 BY 2088(SI)J10

Boardman
Belmont
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Nease
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Reference is made to my memorandum to you dated June 6, 1957, pointing out that [REDACTED] a research consultant in Washington, had called [REDACTED] and stated that he was concerned about recent Supreme Court decisions regarding the FBI files and that he was considering writing a book showing his concern.

On July 12, 1957, [REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] that he was still doing research on this matter. [REDACTED] stated that more in fact than anything else he wrote a letter to the Fund for the Republic asking for a grant in aid for research and publication of a book entitled "The Planned Attack on the Federal Bureau of Investigation." He pointed out to the Fund that it was his intention to demonstrate through documentary materials that there has been an organized campaign deliberately designed to undermine the confidence of the American people in the FBI. He furnished a list of his qualifications as a writer to the Fund. [REDACTED] received a short reply signed by [REDACTED] of the Fund, advising Teeple that the Fund could not support his project; that they had recently reorganized their activities including fellowships and grants-in-aid programs. The letter ended by stating the Fund hoped he would be able to secure funds elsewhere. [REDACTED] said this was the reply he expected and that this merely indicated that the Fund for the Republic was not interested in anyone's views except those who agreed with the Fund's policies which [REDACTED] characterized as left-wing liberal. [REDACTED] felt the Bureau would be interested in this information.

[REDACTED] also wanted the Bureau to know that Constantine Brown's column in the "Evening Star", June 24, 1957, entitled "Supreme Court and the Reds" was written by [REDACTED]. This article criticizes the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case.

ACTION:

For your information.

CWB:bjt
(5)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Bates

100-391697
NOT RECORDED
145 JUL 18 1957
INITIALS ON ORIGINAL
JUL 17 1957

LIAISON

60 JUL 23 1957 F 394

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: 8/2/57

FROM : G. A. NEASE

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson _____
 Nichols _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Nease _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

Stanley Tracy called and advised that this morning he had been talking to Don Appel of the House Un-American Activities Committee. He stated Appel's assignment on the Committee is to look into the Fund For The Republic. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It may be some time, however, before the Commissioner acts on the report. Referral/Consult

Tracy further stated there is speculation as to whether the Fund For The Republic is trying to organize two big projects which will last a long time [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] They have about eight and a half million dollars left. One of these projects might be a study of the free enterprise system in this country. The other would be a study of organized labor. Referral/Consult

[REDACTED] it is being speculated they would immediately file a suit to have an unfavorable ruling handed down overruled.

Referral/Consult

GAN:DMG
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8-3-89 BY 80028510

EX-132

EX-132

100-391697
 8/2/57

100-391697-477

8-2-57

SENT DIRECTOR
 8-2-57

Assigned

25061

August 27, 1957

RECORDED - 6
INDEXED - 6

100 - 391697 - 472

[Redacted]

New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. [Redacted]:

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-2-89 BY 858373 JCP

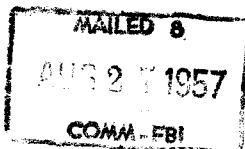
Your note of August 21, 1957, with enclosure,
has been received. You may be sure that I appreciate your
interest in forwarding a copy of your communication to

Mr. [Redacted] of the Associated Press concerning
the Ford Fund For The Republic.

b6
b7C

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



NOTE: Bufiles reflect no derogatory information concerning

[Redacted] We have had cordial correspondence with him in the past.

b6
b7C

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

CBF:agp
(3)

57 SEP 11 1957

File 100-391697

100-391697-472
FBI
RECEIVED

[Redacted]

NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

b6
b7C

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

August 21, 1957

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Attached is a carbon copy of a letter
which I have just mailed, which may be of
interest to you.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

[Redacted]

EXP. PROC.
AUG 22 1957

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY SP8 BTJ/afp

Mr. Clegg
8-27-57
CBF

RECORDED - 6

INDEXED - 6

100-11691

1957


472

ENCLOSURE

BATES RANNEY
10 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

August 21, 1957


General News Desk
The Associated Press
50 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y.

b6
b7C

Dear 

As per telephone conversation, here is my file on the "Ford Fund For The Republic" which Henry Ford II has disowned in a backhanded way (see clips).

Any association between the Overseas Press Club of New York, and the Ford Fund For The Republic, as suggested by Cecil Brown, is certain to bring loud repercussions from a large segment of the Overseas Press Club membership.

In my opinion, this is another case of left wingers (to use a charitable description) trying to move in and infiltrate a reputable organization for their use as a public forum. Speaking as an Overseas Press Club Member, we certainly should have no part of it, no matter in what guise it is presented.

The above comment is a personal one. If you asked my objective recommendation as a public relations consultant, I would be obliged to say the same thing.

Will you please discuss with me before you use any of this material for other than your own information as some of it is not privileged.

Sincerely,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-8-89 BY 2888 JTS/108

b6
b7C

2-671

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: September 20, 1957

FROM : R. R. ROACH

GIR

Tolson ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Boardman ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mason ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Parsons ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tamm ☒
 Nease ☒
 Winterrowd ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holloman ☒
 Gandy ☒

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

SYNOPSIS:

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" on September 20, 1957, reflected David F. Freeman and Adam Yarmolinsky, both officers in the FFR, had resigned in a policy disagreement with FFR president Hutchins. In November, 1955, [redacted] reportedly indicated FFR funds were available to be used in providing legal aid for subversive cases or other unpopular causes. Yarmolinsky is the author of "Case Studies in Personnel Security" which was criticized as tending to make the Federal personnel security program seem unfair and ridiculous and to have contained a number of inaccurate, misleading, and incomplete statements which tended to present the Government's position in an unfavorable light.

Dissension in the leadership of the FFR appears to result from a change in policy of the FFR, which switched from encouraging civil liberties projects already existing to a study of basic issues which will originate with the FFR. Three basic issues projects already announced and most controversial could be a study regarding the Government's defense policies which includes measures developed for the control of sedition, subversion, espionage, and sabotage; the enlargement of Government secrecy; and the development of intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies. Basic issues program reportedly a maneuver of FFR to avoid loss of tax exempt status and above resignations may be a move for the same purpose.

Whether the above resignations indicate a shift away from the left on the part of Hutchins and FFR will depend largely upon their replacements.

ACTION:

None. For the Director's information.

Newsclipping attached:

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Gaffney

JJG:nck (6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-89 BY SP2/MSJ/og

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RECORDED-18
INDEXED-18

SENT DIRECTOR

9-21-57

1957

473

Memorandum Roach to Belmont
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

DETAILS:

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of September 20, 1957, carried an article captioned "Two Officers Resign Fund for Republic Posts" and reflected David F. Freeman, vice president and acting treasurer, and Adam Yarmolinsky, Fund secretary and head of its Washington office, had resigned on September 19, 1957, in a policy disagreement with Fund president Hutchins. b6 b7C

In November, 1955, the Bureau learned that [] had told a member of the Toledo (Ohio) Bar Association (TBA) that funds were available from the FFR if the money would be used in providing legal aid for "subversive cases and other unpopular causes" and the TBA had received a check for \$10,000 from the FFR. Adam Yarmolinsky directed a study of individual cases under the loyalty-security program under a grant from the FFR appropriated in June, 1954. In 1955, his book, "Case Studies in Personnel Security," was published and included summaries of fifty case histories of persons whose cases were processed under Federal personnel security programs. The author indicated the fifty cases presented were among several hundred studied. Criticism of the book reflected that the cases offered tended to make the Federal personnel security program seem unfair and ridiculous. Identification of several of the fifty cases presented reflected Yarmolinsky's survey contained a number of inaccurate, misleading, and incomplete statements which tended to present the Government's position in an unfavorable light. (FFR Running Memorandum, part 4, page 62; part 3, pages 13 and 55)

The news article states it is known "that the Fund has radically changed its approach to American civil liberties. In the past, the Fund has subsidized and encouraged civil liberties projects which already existed. Hutchins ... has now decided that the \$6.5 million remaining in the Fund's account should be devoted to an over-all study of 'basic issues,' with the Fund originating the projects to be studied."

From this news article, the above change appears to be the cause of dissension in the leadership of the FFR. The FFR has already announced three projects under its basic issues program which include studies of the influence on individual freedoms of the industrial corporation, the labor union, and the Government's defense policy. The latter could be the most controversial of the three because it includes

Memorandum Roach to Belmont
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)

measures developed for the control of sedition, subversion, espionage, and sabotage; the enlargement of Government secrecy; and the development of intelligence and counterintelligence agencies.

On August 2, 1957, former Assistant Director Stanley Tracy advised the FFR was maneuvering to avoid an adverse ruling by the Internal Revenue Service regarding their tax exempt status and mentioned the basic issues projects as a possible move in this direction. These current resignations may be another move in the same direction. Whether these resignations indicate a shift away from the left on the part of Hutchins and the FFR will depend largely upon their replacements and the handling of the basic issues program.

This matter is being closely followed and you will be immediately advised of any further developments.

gm

Two Officers Resign Fund for Republic Posts

Two of the Fund for the Republic's five officers resigned yesterday in a policy disagreement with Fund President Robert M. Hutchins.

The officials are: David F. Freeman of New York, vice president and acting treasurer, and Adam Yarmolinsky, Fund secretary and head of its Washington office.

Freeman, the Fund's first employee, had joined the group when it was established with a 15-million-dollar Ford Foundation grant five years ago. Yarmolinsky joined the Fund two years ago after supervising one of its projects, a legal study of Government security cases.

Yarmolinsky would say only "basic policy disagreements" yesterday when queried over his and Freeman's resignation. It is known, however, that the Fund has radically changed its approach to American civil liberties.

In the past, the Fund has subsidized and encouraged civil liberties projects which already existed. Hutchins, one-time president of the University of Chicago, has now decided that the \$6.5 million

remaining in the Fund's account should be devoted to an over-all study of "basic issues," with the Fund originating the projects to be studied.

Beginning Monday, Yarmolinsky will become an editor for Doubleday & Co.

With Freeman's and Yarmolinsky's resignation, the Fund for the Republic's officials are down to three: President Hutchins, and Vice Presidents W. H. Perry and Frank K. Kelly.

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-28-89 BY 88850 JEP

Wash. Post and Times Herald A-18
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
N. Y. Journal-American _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
N. Y. Daily News _____
N. Y. Times _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

Date SEP 21 1957

*Man. Brought
9-20-57
JEP*

September 20, 1957

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable Bernard M. Shanley
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Bernard:

Last evening, Fulton Lewis, Jr., referred to my remarks at The American Legion convention and quoted from the speech beginning with the first paragraph on page 4, all of page 5, and through the first two lines of page 6. He then made reference to the Americans for Democratic Action. I am attaching a copy of his specific statement.

Sincerely,

Edgar

ENCLOSURE

[Signature]
Enclosure

cc-Mr. Jones

LBN:jmr
(4) *[Signature]*

NOT RECORDED
76 SEP 24 1957
16 SEP 24 1957

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

266 56 15 23 6W 23

BY COURIER SVC.
31 SEP 20
COMM - FBI

Special messenger

51 SEP 25 1957

September 20, 1957

**EXCERPT FROM FULTON LEWIS
BROADCAST OVER MUTUAL
NETWORK, THURSDAY EVENING,
SEPTEMBER 19, 1957**

"That was Mr. J. Edgar Hoover before The American Legion convention in Atlantic City this afternoon. It seems to be very little question as to the identity of the groups which Mr. Hoover is referring to there, the Fund for the Republic, of course, and the Americans for Democratic Action. He all but mentions them by name, all but spells them out. Noting that fact, I called the FBI and asked, point-blank, whether they are the groups he was referring to. The FBI said it would neither confirm nor deny the fact. I point out to you, however, that if they were not the groups Mr. Hoover was referring to it would have been quite easy and simple for the FBI to have said so. It did not say so."

cc-Mr. Jones

LBN:jmr
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ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

October 4, 1957

The attached was sent to the
Director from The Fund for the
Republic, Inc., 60 East 42nd
Street, New York 17, New York.

Attachment
hbb

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Mr. Jones _____
Mr. Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____



FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

60 EAST 42 STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

*The attached booklet, "The Free Society,"
describes the Fund's program concerning
the basic issues of liberty and justice in the
United States.*

*We will appreciate receiving your com-
ments and suggestions about the program.*

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
President

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